ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOLUME XXVII.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN SOMERSET PLACE;
AND BY MESSRS. PAYNE AND FOSS, PALL MALL,
AND W. PICKERING, CHANCERY LANE.

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AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

MAY 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archæologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

XIV. *Observations on three Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions found at Watermore, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, in* 1835 *and* 1836. *By Dr.* Conrad Leemans, *First Conservator of the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden.*

Read 11th May, 1837.

AMONG the Roman antiquities which have been discovered during the last two years in Great Britain, three sepulchral monuments found at Watermore, about half a mile on the south side of Cirencester, merit especially the attention of the Antiquaries, both on account of the Inscriptions which they present, and the locality where they were discovered.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1835, page 303, and in the number of the same journal for March 1836, p. 296, two of these inscriptions have been published, one with a translation and a few preliminary remarks, the other without any explanation. I felt particularly interested in the latter, as it refers to the early history of my own country; and thinking that, by entering a little further into the consideration of it, I may, perhaps, come to some conclusions which will merit the attention of the learned members of the Society of Antiquaries, I now venture to lay before them the following Paper, containing a few slight observations on the Monuments alluded to, and some others also found in Great Britain, and which seem to throw light on the first, or to be reciprocally explained by them.

I hope that my inquiry, defective as it is in many respects, may be regarded by the Society as an humble proof of my gratitude, for their kindness in admitting me, during my different periods of residence in London, to their interesting meetings, and I shall feel very happy if, by drawing the attention of its learned members to the subject of my paper, I see my own opinions corrected or confirmed by their observations and better judgment.

The kindness of a dear friend, who received from the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine drawings of the Watermore monuments, and who favoured me with accurate copies of them, while it rendered my task more easy, enables me also now to lay before the Society some sketches, by which my description will be more easily understood. (See Plate XIV.)

Monument I.

According to the description given in the Gentleman's Magazine for September 1835, p. 303, the first of these monuments is seven feet high and two and a half wide, and was discovered close to the Irmine street-way, lying in a horizontal position about two feet and a half below the surface of the earth. It exhibits, in very high relief, the figure of a warrior on horseback spearing a prostrate figure. It is without any further ornament.

The inscription is as follows:

DANNICVS. EQES. ALAE
INDIAN. TVR. ALBANI
STIP. XVI. CIVES. RAVR.
CVR. FVLVIVS. NATALIS. IL
FLAVIVS. BITVCVS. ER. TESTAME.
H. S. E.

" Dannicus eques alae Indianae, turmae Albani, stipendiorum sedecim, civis Rauricus. Curaverunt Fulvius Natalis, il (*lege* et?) Flavius Bitucus, heredes testamentarii. Hic situs est." *i. e.* " Dannicus, a horseman of the Indian wing, of the troop of Albanus, who has served sixteen years, a citizen of Rauricum. By the care of Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus, the heirs of his last will. He is buried here."

Though the reading of the first name D. ANNICVS, or Decius Annicus,[a] as proposed in the Gentleman's Magazine, might be perhaps deemed plausible, still the absence of the point between the two first letters, which moreover stand so close to each other as not to admit separation, (the names of the heirs

[a] The names of *C. Annicius Campestris, Eros, Festus,* and *Processianus,* occur on an inscription found at Rome. See Gruteri *Corp. Inscript.* p. CMXXXI. 6, and that of *Annicus* is on an inscription, ibid. p. DCCLXIV. 4.

1

DANNICVS·EQES·ALAE
INDIAN·TVR·ALBANI·
STIP·XVI·CIVES·RAVR:
CVR·FVLVIVS·NATALIS·IL
IVS·BITVCVS·ER·TESTAME

H S E

2

SEXTVS·VALE
RIVS·GENALIS
EQES·ALAE·TR·HAEC
CIVIS·FRISIAVS·TVR·
GENIALIS·AI·XXXX·XX·

H·S·E·E·F·C·

3

PHILVS·CA
SSAVI·FILI·
CIVIS·S·EQV
ANN XXXXV

H·SE

Sepulchral Inscriptions found at Watermore near Cirencester in 1835 and 1836.

being written without abbreviation,) render it more probable that we are to read DANNICUS, which is supported by the circumstance that the Germans and Gauls often had only one name, even under the dominion of the Romans. In an inscription found at Naples[b] are mentioned the names of *Rhenus, Danuvius*, and *Euphrates*; on another found near Maintz, *Pistillus, Quintus, Marianus, Bellicus*;[c] *Peregrinus* and *Secundus* on an altar found at Bath;[d] *Amandus* (?) on another found at Binchester;[e] *Aleimachus, Decius, Montanus*, on an inscription found in the via Aurelia;[f] *Bassus*;[g] *Hilarus*;[h] *Amicus ve* (i. e. *Vaenoni)* filius;[i] and in the third of the inscriptions found at Watermore occurs the name of *Philus the Sequanian.*

I do not, however, find the same name of *Dannicus* mentioned on any other monument. *C. Dannius* occurs on an inscription published by Muratori;[k] *Danicius Alpinus*;[l] *Cn. Danius Minuso*;[m] and *Dannus Mari filius* in one of Gruter's inscriptions found at Nimes.[n]

The *ala Indiana*, or the Indian wing of auxiliary horsemen, is mentioned in an inscription found near Cologne;[o] on another occurs the name of *M. Ulpius Sporus*, physician of the same *ala*,[p] as well as on one found at Fossombrone,[q] and on another found at Maintz;[r] to which may be added a fifth, to the memory of *Argiotalus the son of Smertulitanus* from Nantes, who was a horseman of the same wing.[s] The Watermore inscription gives us the name of one of the troops or *turmæ* into which the *ala Indiana* was divided, with which we have not been hitherto acquainted; another, viz. that of the *turma Balbi* being mentioned in the inscription just quoted, found near Cologne.

[b] Gruter. p. MCXXV. 1. [c] Ibid. p. CXXX. 9. Orellii *Inscript. Lat. Sel.* no. 2776.
[d] Camden's *Britannia*, Lond. 1789. vol. i. pl. 7, fig. 10.
[e] Lysons's *Reliquiae-Britannico Romanae*, vol. i. pl. 12.
[f] Muratori, *Nov. Thes. Inscript.* Mediol. 1740, p. DXXIII. 5. Orell. n. 3538.
[g] Orell. ibid. 174. [h] Orell. ibid. n. 175. [i] Gruter. p. DCCLXIV. 4.
[k] Muratori, p. DXL. 1. [l] Murat. p. MDCCLXXVIII. 3.
[m] Murat. p. MDXXXIV. 4. [n] Gruter, p. CMXXII. 12.
[o] Gruter. op. cit. p. DXIX. 7. Schannat. *Eiflia Illustrata*, i. p. 548. Orell. op. cit. p. 192. Muratori, p. DCCLXXVII. 1.
[p] Orell. n. 3507. Muratori, p. MXLVI. 5.
[q] Maffei, *Osserv. Lett.* v. p. 198. Grut. p. CCCCXVII. 6. Orell. n. 4039.
[r] Grut. p. DXLI. 7. [s] Orell. op. cit. n. 188.

The Rauraci were a people of Gallia, which, like their neighbours the Sequani, were brought into subjection by Cæsar. The monument was erected by *Fulvius Natalis* and *Flavius Bitucus*. I am of the opinion that the particle ET between these two names, was justly substituted by the correspondent of the Magazine, for the letters IP, or IL, as they occur on two different copies of the monument. But it might also, perhaps, be conjectured, that instead of the words *et Flavius*, we should read *Illyrius Bitucus*, an idea which was suggested to me by the beginning of the fifth line being indistinctly indicated on my copy. The name *Illyrius* occurs in an inscription published by Muratori.[t] *Bitucus* may be the same as *Bituccus*.[u]

The expressions *Heres testamentarius curavit*, *Heredes testamentarii*, *Heredes ex testamento curaverunt*, are common on sepulchral monuments, as it was very often made the condition, by which the heirs of the testator obtained the possession of his goods.[x] The Emperor Antoninus deemed it necessary to order that the will of a soldier, with respect to the erection of a monument after his death, should be duly observed by the father and mother, being his heirs.[y] The omission of the V in EQES, and of the H before ERES, in this as well as in the following inscription, may be explained by the circumstance of the place where the inscription was found, and the little care, which we may presume was exercised concerning a monument erected at such a distance from Rome, to the memory of a person of inferior rank; the heirs themselves probably belonging to one of the barbarous nations subdued by the Romans, and as yet imperfectly acquainted with the language of their conquerors. Besides which, examples of the same omissions are frequent.

I am disposed to believe that the skeleton lying upon an urn of dark-coloured pottery, near the head of the stone, was that of Dannicus; the others found near the spot may either have been those of Germans or Gauls, who served in the Roman army, or those of the contemporary inhabitants of the country. The body of a Roman probably would have been burnt, at the period to which these inscriptions seem to belong. On the contrary, it is not at all

[t] Page CMLVII. 5. [u] Muratori, p. MCCCXIV. 5. Gruter, DCLXXIII. 1.

[x] L. 18. s. 2. Pandect. *Fam. Ercisc.*; l. 44, Pand. *de hered. Inst.*; l. 10. Pand. *de Reb. dub.*; and l. 26. Pand. *de condit. et demonstr.*

[y] l. 5. Cod. *de Religios.*

uncommon to find the whole skeleton of a German or Gaul, whether buried in a tomb, or deposited with the head and arms resting on stones. The cast of such a skeleton was last year laid before the Society of Antiquaries. It was found at Arentsburgh (the presumed *Forum Hadriani*) near to the Hague in the Netherlands, where, under the direction of the late Professor, Dr. Reuvens, the Dutch Government some years ago made very interesting antiquarian researches. The Roman ornaments, fibulæ, rings, &c. found upon the bones, prove that the inhabitants of the Northern countries assumed in great measure the customs of the Romans. For other skeletons found in England, the *Nenia Britannica*[z] may be consulted with advantage, and for those found in the old German tumuli, Klemm's *Handb. der German Alterthumsk.*

Monument II.

According to the sketches with which I was favoured, this monument is in a better state of preservation than that just described; even the trappings of the horse, and the whole military dress of its rider, the form of his helmet, &c. are very well expressed. The inscription is as follows:

SEXTVS. VALE
RIVS. GENALIS
EQES. ALAE TR. HAEC.
CIVIS. FRISIAVS. TVR.
GENIALIS .AI .XXXX...XX.
H. S. E. E. F. C.

Which I read: "Sextus Valerius Genialis, eques alæ Thracum (or Thracum Herculaniæ (?), civis Frisiaus *(for* Frisius), turmæ Genialis. Annos [vixit] quadraginta, [militavit] viginti. Hic situs est; heres fieri curavit." *i. e.* "Sextus Valerius Genialis, a horseman of the Thracian or Herculania Thracian wing, a citizen of Frisia, of the troop (or the squadron) of Genialis. He lived forty years, and served twenty. He is buried here. His heir erected [this monument]."

[z] *Nenia Britannica*, or a Sepulchral History of Great Britain, by the Rev. James Douglas. Lond. 1793, in fol. pl. 1, 3, 14, 29.

The propriety of inserting the I in GENALIS,[a] the V in EQES, and the substitution of N for I in AI (ANNOS) may be considered as certain; but the third line of the inscription contains an error, which seems to require some further discussion, as it yields no sense at all in its present state.

The *ala III Thracum* occurs very often in inscriptions; for instance, on one found at Rome;[b] on another at Tarracone;[c] the latter of which needs to be referred to in more than one respect. It runs as follows: M. VALER. M. F. GAL. &C. PRAEF. ALAE III. T. ΨRACVM. IN. SYR. "Marco Valerio, Marci filio Gallo, præfecto alæ tertiæ Thracum in Syria;" "To Marcus Valerius from Gallia, commander of the third Thracian wing in Syria." We have here a native of Gallia also named *Valerius*, and commanding a similar wing to that in the Watermore inscription; but the circumstance of this troop having been stationed in Syria, seems to forbid the notion that it is identical with that mentioned in the inscription before us.[d] As for the reading THRACUM HERCULANIAE, it might perhaps be recommended by the similarity of the abbreviation of these words, with the characters on the stone;[e] but I should feel rather inclined to read THRAC. *Thracum*, as another sepulchral stone found in

[a] The name of *Genialis* very often occurs on inscriptions. See Muratori, p. MCCCXVII. 8; MCCCXXX. 4; Gruter, LXXX. 6; CCCXLV. 9; CDX. 10; DLVIII. 2; DCCXX. 3; DCCLXXIII. 1; DCCCVII. 13; DCCCLXXXVI. 12; CMLVI. 12; CMLXI. 5, 9. The three last were found at Narbonne. See also Orell. Inscr. 4476.

[b] Gruter. op. cit. CCCCXXXIII. 5.

[c] Gruter. CCCCXXXI. 1.

[d] In the wall of a Moorish castle, *Alcasaba*, at Malaga in Spain, there is an inscription, L(ucio) VALERIO, L(ucii) F(ilio) QVIR(iti) PROCVLO. PRAEFECTO. COHORT. IIII. THRACVM. SYRIACAE (Muratori, op. cit. MLVI. 4; Orell. vol. ii. n. 5040). This Valerius Proculus is probably the same who erected a monument to his brother at *Palaestrina*. See Gruter, DLXV. 2; C(ajo) VALERIO. L(ucii) F(ilio). QVIR(iti) FLORINO. PRAEF(ecto) COH(ortis) II. THRAC(um). SYRIACAE. TRIB(uno). MIL(itari). LEG(ionis) VII. CLAVD(iae). PIAE. FID(elis) FRATRI. OPT(imo) B(ene) M(erenti) PROCVLVS. These second and fourth Thracian cohorts had the surname of SYRIACA, because they were stationed in that country. In the same manner, in an inscription of Gruter's, p. CCCCLXXXII. 8, the *second cohort of the Gauls* (COH. II. GALLORVM.) is surnamed *Macedonica*, to distinguish it from the *Coh. ii. Gallorum equitata*, which was stationed in Britain. See the Inscriptions in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 275. Cumberl. n. LII. & praef. p. XX. Cumberl. n. LII. a.

[e] The *ala Thracum Herculania* occurs in an inscription upon the base of a statue found at *Vaison* in France. See Gruter, p. MXC. 21.

Shropshire, mentions a horseman of the *cohors Thracum*. See Camden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 413.

In Muratori, p. DCCXCVII. 7, we have another instance of a soldier bearing the same name as the *turma* in which he served, "*Titus Aurelius of the troop of Aurelius.*"

The termination FRISIAVS, presents us with a variety in the orthography of this word, in the inscriptions. If it was not meant for FRISIVS or FRISIEVS, it is formed like BATAVVS, or BATAVS, which latter word occurs on a sepulchral stone found in the via Aurelia.[f] We shall have occasion to return to this subject afterwards.

The *turma Genialis* of the *Thracian wing* has not yet been found among those mentioned upon monuments.

The inquiry which has been sustained by the letter or letters immediately following the age of the deceased, makes it a little uncertain whether we are to read M or D; the latter would add *twenty days* to the forty years of Sextus Valerius; but I feel inclined to prefer the former reading; the years of a soldier's service being commonly mentioned on his sepulchral monument, and the number here mentioned agreeing very well with the age at which the Romans began military service. We shall see hereafter an example of this formular. On our first inscription it was indicated by the *Stipendia*.

The last line needs no further explication.

MONUMENT III.

The third of these interesting objects, found near the same spot as the others on the 1st July 1836, is also a sepulchral monument of the same size as the preceding; but on the bas relief is represented an upright figure of a man dressed in a mantle, which hangs down to his feet, and having on his head a sort of pileus. The ornaments on the top of the monument are not inelegant, and the pilasters on each side of the standing figure, are tolerably well executed. The inscription, in which the distinction of the different words is not so well observed as on the two preceding monuments, is as follows:

[f] Fabretti, Inscript. p. 687. 98. Muratori, DXXIII. 5. Orell. n. 3538.

PHILVS. CA
SSAVI. FILI.
CIVIS. S.EQV.
ANN. XXXXV.
H . SE

" Philus Cassavi filius, civis Sequanus [vixit] annos quadraginta quinque. Hic sepultus est."—" Philus the son of Cassavus, a citizen of the Sequani, 45 years old, is buried here." The name of Philus is not very common on Roman inscriptions; it occurs however in Gruter's work, p. CCXCVII. col. i. Perhaps it might appear doubtful whether the following seven letters should not be separated, and read, CASS(ii) AVI(leti) FILI(us). The name of Cassius Abiletus (which may be regarded the same as Aviletus) or Cassius Abileius, occurs in Muratori's work,[g] and Gruter's Inscriptions.[h] In the first we find also Cassius Aulianus.[i] But the reading here adopted is more in accordance with what has been said above on the use of single names by the Germans and Gauls.

The Sequani lived in the vicinity of the Rauraci, near Switzerland, as is proved by different sepulchral inscriptions found at Lyons in France, at St. Pierre Mont-jou, in Switzerland, but chiefly by an inscription published by Gruter,[j] in which we read I(ulio). POPPILI(o). NAT(ione). SEQVANO. CIVI. LVGDVNENSI. The point after the first letter of *Sequanus* must obviously be transferred to the end of the word.

The person mentioned on this last of the Watermore monuments may have been a merchant, much commercial intercourse having existed from a very early period, between the Gauls and the Britons, and we may easily presume, that many inhabitants of that part of the continent followed the Roman army into Britain, after its settlement in that country. Poppilius the Sequanian, whose name we have just mentioned, is also styled a *negotiator* in his sepulchral inscription.

Hoping that I shall not trespass too much on the patience of the Society, I shall add a few observations on the inference to be deduced from the two first

g P. MDCLII. 13. h Gruter. p. CMVI. 2. i Murat. p. MMLXX. 9.
j Gruter. p. DCXLIX. 7.

of the Watermore inscriptions. As far as I am able to ascertain, no ancient author speaks either of the *Sequani*, or of the Frisii, as having assisted the Romans in their attempts to subdue the island, which by the strength of its natural situation, no less than by the bravery of its inhabitants, was one of the most arduous and difficult tasks the conquerors of the world ever undertook. Cæsar's expeditions against the Britons, though his usual fortune did not wholly desert him, far from subjugating them under the dominion of the Romans, only served to convince the latter, that it would be hardly possible for them even to obtain a footing in the island, by the same exertions which rendered the Germans and the Gauls, either a vanquished people, or auxiliaries and allies to the Roman Empire. Cn. Julius Agricola was the first who succeeded in pushing the conquests of the Roman army so far as the northern part of Britain, and in rendering his people at least for some time and in a surer manner, masters of almost the greatest part of the country. In the account of one of the different battles which were fought by that general, Tacitus (Vita Agricolæ, cap. 36,[k]) relates, "that the enemy could not be repulsed before Agricola attacked them with three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts, which by their peculiar arms, and the manner in which they obliged him to come to close combat, succeeded in turning the balance of the day in favour of their allies."

The fact of Batavian troops having accompanied the Romans into Britain, even if it were not ascertained, by the passages in Tacitus alluded to, would be fully confirmed by a most interesting inscription, and perhaps the only one of the kind, found at Walwick in Northumberland, and published in the Philosophical Transactions.[l]

[k] "Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucronem ac manus adducerent, quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant." Add. Tacitus, Hist. iv. 12. "Batavi —— diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant."

[l] Philos. Transact. vol. xix. p. 661. Camden's Britannia, iii. pl. 19. p. 246. Muratori, op. cit. LXXXI. 3.

FORTVNAE
COH . I . BATAVOR.
CVI. PRAEST.
MALACCIVS. MARCELLVS. PRAE.

This inscription proves that the first cohort of Batavian troops, under the command of Malaccius Marcellus, dedicated an altar to Fortune; and the monument is still more valuable, since we do not find, as far as I have been able to ascertain, even in the country of the *Batavi* themselves, any monuments making mention of their cohorts, or their army. The inscription in the Leyden Museum, in which the Batavi are called *amici et fratres Romani imperii*, is apparently spurious. The genuineness of another, to the memory of Soranus the Batavian, found on the bank of the Danube, is extremely doubtful.[m] There exists a third stone found in Portugal,[n] but it contains only the name of an individual; and a fourth, found at Rome,[o] mentions a native of the Batavian people as having served in one of the Roman cohorts. The only one, which was discovered in the Netherlands, and of the genuineness of which no doubt can be entertained, is a dedication of *Flavius Vihtirmatis filius, summus magistratus civitatis Batavorum*, to *Hercules Magusanus*, a divinity to whom more inscriptions in the same country refer.[p] Though the unique inscription found at Walwick does not establish the fact beyond the possibility of contradiction, still the absence of any similar monument in any other country, seems to lead us to the conclusion that the Batavian troops remained for a long time in England; a conclusion which, besides being confirmed by the passages in Tacitus, is in accordance with the well-known policy of the Romans, who did not think it safe to allow their allies and above all those, who by their valour were ranked among their most formidable opposers, to perform military service in their own native country. This last observation furnishes us with a sufficient explanation of the total absence of any military remains of the Batavi in their own country.

With regard to the Tungrian cohorts, the same observation may be made; at least, I am not aware of any mention of the troops of this nation on inscriptions found on the continent. Gruter[q] has published one existing at Rome, but it

[m] Gruter. DLXII. 3. [n] Ibid. p. c. 9. [o] Orell. op. cit. n. 4476.
[p] Cuper. Mon. Antiq. p. 218. [q] Gruter. op. cit. CCCXXXIV. 3.

bears only the name of one of the *Tungri*, who died a veteran in the Roman army; and in Muratori[r] we have the name of Titus Popilius, among whose titles is that of *Commander of the first Tungrian wing*. On the contrary, the military remains of this people in Great Britain are comparatively very numerous. *The first Tungrian cohort* dedicated an altar to Jupiter in Cumberland,[s] and another to Hercules in Northumberland;[t] two others to Jupiter;[u] a fifth consecrated to the same god was found at Housesteads in Northumberland:[x] also one to the *Deæ matres;* and *Quintus Florius Maternus*, the commander of the same cohort, dedicated an altar to Mars.[y] The *Tungrian* cohort is mentioned in an eighth inscription found in the Roman wall near *Castle Cary* (*Curia Damniorum*).[z] Other nations from the neighbours of the three before-mentioned (viz. the *Frisii*, the *Batavi*, and the *Tungri*) are proved by monuments to have participated in the expeditions of the Romans against the Britons; among these may be enumerated a native of Trèves, who consecrated an altar to different divinities at Bath;[a] a Belgian, whose sepulchral stone was discovered in the same place.[b] Perhaps the fragment of an inscription to *Mars Camulus*, found on an altar in Stirlingshire,[c] belongs also to a native of the same vicinity; for there exists at Cleves on the Schwanethurm, an altar found at Rynderen, about two miles from Cleves, dedicated to the same god by the *cives Remi*. Finally, we find that *Marcus Censorinus Marci filius, Vontinia Rhenanus* dedicated an altar to Jupiter in Cumberland.[d]

Of the inhabitants of Rauricum I have not been able to find a second monument among those existing in England, but in Monmouthshire there was discovered a sepulchral inscription of a citizen of *Lyons* named Valerius, who served in the Roman galley *Victoria*, and was a standard-bearer of the second legion of Augustus.[e] This inscription seems to claim notice in this place, be-

r Muratori, op. cit. DCCCXLIV. 9.
s Camden's Brit. vol. iii. p. 8, fig. 8, p. 176.
t Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 17, fig. 4. p. 245.
u Ibid. pl. 17, fig. 1, 2, 9 & 10, p. 245.
x Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 18, p. 245. Orell. op. cit. 3399.
y Ibid. pl. 18, fig. 3 & 5.
z Roy, Milit. Antiq. of the Rom. in Great Brit. Lond. 1795, p. 200.
a Camden's Britan. i. pl. 7, fig. 10, p. 79.
b Ibid. vol. i. pl. 7, p. 79. Orell. n. 4079.
c Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 25, fig. 6, p. 359.
d Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 9, fig. 5, p. 185.
e Ibid. vol. ii. pl. 15, p. 490.

cause the Lugdunenses and the Raurici dwelt in the same neighbourhood.

I hope I may be allowed to add a few words concerning the monuments of the Frisian nation of the time of the Romans, as this question is in some degree connected with that of the period to which the Watermore inscriptions probably should be referred.

Among the inscriptions published in different epigraphical and other antiquarian books, I have met with six which make mention of Frisian individuals; to which, since the discoveries near Cirencester, a seventh has been added. It may not perhaps be improper to bring them together in this place, principally because they almost all exhibit a different orthography of the name of that nation:

(1.)[f]

DIS . MAN.
L. IVLIO.VOGVSIO
NATONE. FRIS.
FECIT. NAEVIA. FORTVNIA.
CONIVGI. INCOMPARABILI.
CVM. QVO VIX. AN. XIX.

"Diis Manibus. Lucio Julio Vogusio, natione Frisio, fecit Naevia Fortunia conjugi incomparabili, cum quo vixit annos novemdecim."

There might perhaps be reason to doubt the genuineness of this inscription, the left side of it, where the word FRIS. occurs, being restored; but the following inscriptions may be regarded as more interesting:

(2.)[g]

BASSUS. NERONIS
CAESARIS. CORPORE
CVSTOS . NATIONE
FRISIVS. VIXIT
AN. XL.

"Bassus Neronis Cæsaris corpore custos, natione Frisius. Vixit annos

[f] On a sepulchral urn of marble in the *Leyden Museum of Antiquities*, brought over from Italy by *de Wit*. Oudendorp, *Descr. Leg. Papenbr.* p. 15, n. 14. Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* 650, 1. Orell. op. cit. n. 171. [g] Found at *Rome*. Gruter. op. cit. p. DC. 12. Orell. n. 174.

quadraginti."—" Bassus, a body-guard of the Emperor Nero, a Frisian, forty years old."

(3.)[h]

HILARVS
NERONIS. CAESARIS
CORPORE. CVSTOS
NATIONE. FRISAEO
VIX. A. XXXIII.

" Hilarus Neronis Cæsaris corpore custos, natione Frisævone (?) vixit annos triginta tres."—" Hilarus, a body-guard of the Emperor Nero, a Frisian, aged thirty-three years."

(4.)[i]

D.M.
AVR. VERO. EQ. SING. AVG.
NAT. FRISEO.
T. AEL. GEMINI.
VIXIT. ANN. XXX.
ML. ANN. XIII
AVR. MOESICVS. HER
A. O. F. C.

" Diis Manibus. Aurelio Vero, equitum singularium[k] Augusti, natione Frisio, Titi Aelii Gemini [filio]. Vixit annos triginta, militavit annos tredecim. Aurelius Moesicus heres amico optimo fieri curavit."—" To the memory of Aurelius Verus, one of the lifeguard of the Emperor, a Frisian, the son of Titus Ælius Geminus; he lived thirty years, and served during thirteen years. Aurelius Moesicus, his heir, has erected this to his dearest friend."

[h] Found at *Interamna*. Gruter. p. DC. 13. Orell. n. 175.

[i] Found at *Rome*. Gruter. op. cit. p. DXXXII. 6. Orell. n. 172.

[k] The *Equites Singulares* followed in rank upon the *Praetoriani*, and were used as lifeguards. See Hygini *Gromat.* p. 4 & 8. Fabretti, *Inscr. Antiq. Explic.* Rom. 1699, p. 354.

(5.)[l]

D. M.
T. FL. VERINO
NAT. FRISAEVONE
VIX . AN. XX. M. VII.
T. FL. VICTOR
EQ. SING. AVG. FRATRI
DVLCISSIMO
F. C.

"Diis Manibus. Tito Flavio Verino, natione Frisævone. Vixit annos viginti, menses septem. Titus Flavius Victor, equitum singularium Augusti, fratri dulcissimo fieri curavit."—"To the memory of Titus Flavius Verinus, a Frisian. He lived twenty years and seven months. Titus Flavius Victor, one of the lifeguard of the Emperor, has erected (this) to his dearest brother."

(6.)[m]

MANDVS
EX C. FRIS
VINOVIE
V. S. L. M.

"Amandus ex civitate Frisiorum Vinoviæ votum solvit libens merito."—"Amandus, a citizen of Frisia, hath gratefully discharged his vow to Vinovia."

The different orthography of the name of the people in question, occurring on these monuments, may be all reduced to two; viz. *Frisius, i*,[n] and *Frisaevo, ones*,[o] the latter being terminated in the same manner as the name of *Ingaevones* and *Istaevones* mentioned by Tacitus in his Germania.[p] The reading of the sixth inscription may appear doubtful, the upper part of the monument being lost, and the abbreviation c for *civitate* not being common. But the reading of the name *Amandus* receives some confirmation from the mention

[l] Found at Rome. Gruter. op. cit. p. DXXXII. 7. Orell. op. cit. n. 173.

[m] On a fragment of an altar found at Binchester in the Bishoprick of Durham. See Lysons's Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. i. pl. xii.

[n] Inscr. 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7. [o] Inscr. 3 and 5. [p] Cap. 2.

of the *turma Amandi* on an inscription in Muratori;[q] and the phrase *ex c. fris.* may be compared with a similar one in an inscription published by Orelli,[r] on which we have a C. TABELLARIVS. C[ivitatis] SEQVANORVM. *Vinovia* is the ancient name of the place where the altar was discovered, and *Amandus* seems to have dedicated the monument to the goddess Vinovia, a personification of the place of the same name. In Roy's *Military Antiquities*[s] occurs an inscription of another altar found at the station of *Achindavy*, on *Grime's Dyke*, which states that *Marcus Cocceius Firmus*, of *the second legion of Augustus*, dedicated the monument to the *Genius terræ Britannicæ*. Another similar dedication was found at *Luxçu* in *Franche Comté* (the ancient Luxovium in Sequanis).

LVXOVIO. ET. BRIXIAE. C. IVL.
FIRMAN. IVSSV.
V. S. L. M.[t]

According to Tacitus,[u] the Frisians were subdued by Corbulo about 50 years A.C., and probably from that period they partook in all the most interesting expeditions of their conquerors, who so relied on the fidelity of those allies, that Nero selected them for his bodyguard, as we learn from the second and the third inscription. It may be presumed that many of them went over to Britain, and served under the command of *Agricola*, but they seem not to have constituted a separate wing or cohort of the Roman army in that country. Sextus Valerius was a horseman of the Thracian wing; the horsemen mentioned in the fourth and the fifth inscription served at Rome as *equites singulares*, or lifeguards, apparently in the time of the Emperor Aurelius.

With regard to the period to which the Watermore inscriptions belong, I believe we may fix it between the expeditions of *Agricola*, and the reign of *Aurelius* and his first successors; a conjecture to which the shape of the letters, as they appear in my copies, compared with others of the same time, seems to offer no obstacle.

[q] Murat. op. cit. p. DCCCLVII. 8. [r] Orelli op. cit. n. 230. [s] Roy, Mil. Ant. pl. 38. fig. 2.
[t] Caylus, Recueil, &c. iii. p. 366. Orell. op. cit. n. 2024.
[u] Tacitus, Annal. xi. 19.

The sepulchral stones of horsemen of the Roman allies found in Shropshire,[x] and at Bath,[y] also representing a knight on horseback spearing a prostrate figure, may belong to the beginning of the same period.

The situation of Cirencester seems to correspond with that of the *Corinium* of *Ptolemaeus* and the *Anonymus Ravennas*, and the *Duroconovium* of Antoninus, and must have been one of the principal stations of the Romans in that part of the country, as three Roman roads meet near the spot, and a great number of antiquities have been discovered in its vicinity. Camden[z] mentions tesselated pavements, hypocausts, a statue, a gold ring, different coins of Antoninus, Diocletianus, and Constantinus; a large stone coffin on the side of the road leading to *Tettleton*, with a skeleton in it, with the skull between the legs, and a sword on its right side (perhaps of a later time), &c. The inscriptions previously found in the same place are the following:

D. M.
IVLIAE. CASTAE
CONIVGI. VIX.
ANN. XXXIII.

"Diis Manibus. Juliae Castae conjugi. Vixit annos triginta tres;" and

D. M.
P. VICANAE
P. VITALIS
CONIVX

"Diis Manibus. Publiae Vicanae Publius Vitalis conjux."

From the three monuments lately found at Watermore, and which have been the principal subjects of the preceding paper, the following conclusions may be deduced:

1. They give us the information that the Rauraci and Frisii followed the Roman army into Britain; a circumstance which is not expressly mentioned by the ancient authors; probably because, as neither the Rauraci nor the Frisii formed a separate cohort, or a distinct portion of the army, individuals

[x] Camden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 413.

[y] Ibid. i. pl. 7, fig. 11, p. 79. Lysons' *Reliq. Britann. Rom.* vol. i. pl. 12. Archæologia, vol. x. pl. xiv.

[z] Camden, op. cit. i. p. 279, seq.

of these and the other nations we have had occasion to mention in discussing the inscriptions, were enlisted in the different wings of the Roman allies.

2. We learn from the third monument, that the communication between the Gauls and the Britons, which existed before the expedition of Cæsar into Britain, was not discontinued after the occupation of the greatest part of the island by the Romans, but that the commercial intercourse between the two countries even increased after that period; for a number of individuals then established themselves in the Roman camps and other military stations, either for the purpose of supplying the soldiers with provisions and other necessaries, or of taking advantage of the more constant and easy communication opened at every military establishment, which at the same time might be regarded in the light of an extensive market.[a]

3. It is rendered probable that the *Indian wing*, which had been stationed for a considerable period in Gaul, also passed over into Great Britain; and from the second monument we may conclude that a *Thracian wing* likewise served in this country.

4. It is of some importance for the knowledge of the military antiquities of the Romans, to be acquainted with the names of the different *turmæ*, or *squadrons*, into which the *wings* were divided; from the first monument we learn that the Indian wing had, besides the *turma Balbi*, also a *turma Albani*. And the second monument presents the name of the *turma Genialis* of the *Thracian wing*.

5. Finally, we obtain fresh confirmation that the spot where these monuments and many others have been discovered, is to be ranked among the most important of the Roman stations in this country; and I think it would be highly desirable that, under proper direction, regular scientific excavations should be instituted in that place; for they would undoubtedly lead to discoveries, which would throw new light on the early state of this country, and furnish many interesting hints for its history during the time of the Romans. Such researches would at the same time prevent ancient monuments, when brought to light, from being dispersed into private collections, where they

[a] Hence the names of *Forum Claudii, Hadriani, Julii, Neronis, Trajani*, and many others.

are often regarded more as objects of curiosity, than as subjects for useful consideration and study, and where, to say the least, they possess far less interest than when deposited in a public museum; for it is only in such a place that monuments can be compared with others of a similar kind, and be constantly exposed to the eyes of persons who make such matters the particular objects of their scientific researches.

XV. *The Kiss of the Virgin: a Narrative of Researches made in Germany, during the years* 1832 *and* 1834, *for the purpose of ascertaining the mode of inflicting that ancient punishment, and of proving the often denied and generally disputed fact of its existence; by* R. L. Pearsall, *of Willsbridge, Esq. in a Letter addressed to the Rev.* H. T. Ellacombe, *F.S.A. Vicar of Bitton in Gloucestershire.*

Read 12th January, 1837.

EVERY thing involved in mystery carries with it a certain degree of interest, especially when connected with the history of the past; and there are few things more deeply so involved, and more calculated to show the worthlessness of criminal tribunals under irresponsible authority, than the singular judicial enormity commemorated in the following pages.

In England we have been barbarous enough, cruel enough, and bad enough during the early part of our history; but, thanks to the publicity of our judicial proceedings, those who fell under the hands of the executioner, perished before the eyes of the world, in a mode prescribed by the law, and obliged to be followed by its officers.

This was not the case in other countries. Wherever there was a despotic monarch, or an irresponsible corporation endowed with an unlimited criminal jurisdiction, men were accused, imprisoned, and never more heard of. Their probable fate could only be guessed from circumstances, or some unguarded expression from the lips of such as were likely to be aware of it; but their possible fate was not so much a secret. "*Let fear come to all*" has been a common maxim amongst penal legislators; and in order that fear *might* come to all, under the governments of ancient continental Europe, they did not

hesitate to insinuate darkly the means which they had of proving and punishing crime whenever a man might be accused of it.

Notwithstanding this, it was seldom or never the case that men knew what torture or death might be in store for them, if they rendered themselves liable to the suspicions of their magistrates.

"*Passer par les oubliettes*" was a well-known phrase in France; and yet few were able to define its meaning accurately. Every one, however, understood that where a man was considered by the tribunals to be guilty of certain crimes, he was doomed to pass, as it were, into oblivion by descending, through trap doors called oubliettes, into the nether regions of his prison, from which he never returned.

"*The Kiss of the Virgin*" (or *Jungfern-kuss)* was an equally well-known phrase in Germany, and its import was almost as little understood. A general impression, however, reigned amongst the multitude, that, in certain towers and prisons, there was a terrible engine, which not only destroyed life, but also annihilated the body of the person sacrificed; and this, from being constructed in the form of a young girl, was called "*the Virgin!*"

During a residence in Germany, some years ago, chance threw me in the way of hearing much of this engine, without being able clearly to understand what it was, excepting that it exercised the functions of executioner in the form of the Virgin Mary, and exterminated its victims by hugging them in arms furnished with iron blades. Thus they were soon deprived of life. It was said to have existed in many towns and castles, and even convents; but more particularly in those secret tribunals which were so numerous in Germany during the middle ages, and which are frequently given the credit of having first employed its services.

The castle of Koenigstein near Frankfort is said to have possessed one of these instruments of destruction, and a tower in the town-wall of Mayence, situated near the butchery, is pointed out as having been the seat of another.

I examined both these buildings in hope of finding some vestige which might give me an idea of the form of the machine and mode of its operation, but in vain. I examined other buildings in the Rhine-land, where it was said to have existed, and with as little success, until at last I began to think that I must have been listening to a fable. Many things served to support this

idea. In the first place, I could obtain no references to chronicles or documents in which its existence was vouched for; and whenever I asked where I was likely to discover any traces of it, I was almost always referred to the castles of the Robber-Chivalry of Germany: a class of people who were generally too poor to purchase a machine so expensive as this must have been, and whose criminal justice or vengeance, call it which you will, was likely to have been administered in a much more simple and unmysterious manner. Again, the accounts which I received both of its form and movements were often inconsistent. Some represented it to be an image of the Virgin Mary, which the culprit was told to kiss, and which, on being touched by him, was set in motion by inward machinery, which caused the figure to fall down and crush him. Others said that its arms expanded and clasped him to a breast out of which poniards protruded. Others again represented it merely as an emblem of *Justice*, placed above a trap-door, on which the culprit trod as he advanced to pay her his homage, and which, being left unbolted, sank underneath his weight, and precipitated him into an abyss. The tradition relative to the machine contained in the tower at Mayence, represented it to be a sort of hollow wheel, furnished in the inside with knives, which, on being made to turn round rapidly, cut to pieces anything that might be in the inside. This last was a punishment reserved for persons of gentle blood convicted of high treason against the Elector, but persons of inferior birth were simply beheaded and thrown to the dogs.

It is true that one could not wonder at a total silence respecting it in the books of Criminal Jurisprudence of the Empire, for *they* related to punishments which justice openly acknowledged; while this machine was always represented to be the peculiar and appropriate minister of a *secret* tribunal, which, from its very nature, could not be governed by any public system of law; but the difficulty of obtaining evidence respecting it, and the contradictory and consequently unsatisfactory nature of the little that I did for some time obtain, made me begin to treat the stories which I had heard as the result of popular error. Added to this, I found almost all the members of the modern school of philosophy prepared to treat the thing as an old woman's tale; and one of them (to whom I was recommended as a man of great historical erudition, who had achieved his education at Paris, and was said to enjoy

the intimacy and esteem of the most distinguished philosophers there and elsewhere) told me that the whole affair was a mere monkish lie; that every possible instrument of death and torture was to be found in the Bastile; that when the people cleared it out at the Revolution, they found no Virgin; and that therefore it was fair to conclude that the thing had never existed but in the imagination of monks and romancers. I remember asking him whether any monk had really mentioned it in a written document. He replied in the affirmative; but stated that, as the monks wrote nothing but lies, he never suffered their stories to dwell on his mind sufficiently to enable him to refer to them a second time. I have stated thus much, at the risk of being tedious, merely to show with what facility we are often led to attribute to mistake and falsehood that which is nevertheless well founded in fact.

Discouraged as I was by the result of my inquiries, I could not altogether hold the thing to be utterly without basis. A grain of truth is often to be found in the most stupid superstitions, even in the most malignant calumnies; and, being loath to treat as mere idle rumour that which had been heard of by every German, and was believed by the great majority of the people, I was tempted to take a middle course, between belief and unbelief, and to conclude that the Virgin must have been the *Plank*, or German guillotine; and I mention this circumstance, because I have strong ground for believing that both instruments are often confounded in ancient traditions.[a]

[a] It is currently believed, by the mass of the French people, that the guillotine is a child of their Revolution; but it existed in Germany, Bohemia, Scotland, and Italy long before it was known in France as a means of public execution. In Germany it was called *der Planke* (i. e. the plank of wood), der Deile, *das Falbeil*. In Bohemia it was called *Hayec*, which must mean also something akin to plank, as the term is explained by the Latin word sylvula in Thomsa's Bohemian dictionary. In Italy it was known by the appellation *Mannaia*. This may possibly be the old way of spelling *Mannacia*, which means a large ugly hand, and may refer to the blade of the instrument being made somewhat in the form of a hand; or it may more probably be some old word coming from the Italian verb *Mangiare*, to eat, and signifying a machine that eat or bit off the heads of its victims.

In Scotland, however, it was called by a name much more germain to the matter before us, namely, "the Maiden."

As in all these nations there was no essential difference in the form of this instrument, and as the reader may be curious to know how it was anciently constructed, we may take the description of a most respectable eye-witness, who states the practice of guillotining criminals to have been

The conclusion which I had arrived at was, however, disturbed by a passage which I accidentally met with in a book entitled "Materialen zur Nürnbergerischen Geschichte herausgegeben von D. I. C. Siebenkees, Nürnberg 1792."

more ancient than that of beheading them with a sword. "In former times," says Crusius (Annales Sueviæ a. 1556-96), "decapitation was performed, not with a sword, but with a piece of oak or plank furnished with a sharp cutting iron edge. I myself (continues the author) have seen such an instrument in the old Hospital at Halle. When any one was to be beheaded, this machine was brought out. It looked like a Zwagstuhl (i. e. a washing seat); on each side were props, on the top of which was set up the plank, and at the end of this was a cutting-iron; as soon as the culprit was bound to the seat, just as if he was going to be washed, the executioner let fall the plank, which hung by a rope, and the iron beneath it struck off the poor sinner's head." The reason which caused decapitation with the sword to be preferred to the more sure operation of the plank does not appear; but probably it arose from ideas of economy, for we find in the "Lubeckische Verord," p. 431, that the executioner was paid one Rhenish florin for beheading with the sword, and two if he did his office with the plank. Having premised thus much, let me again call the reader's attention to the fact of the guillotine having been called in Scotland "the Maiden." (Vide Pennant's Tour, p. 363.) There, as well as in England, a man was said to "kiss the block" when he was beheaded; and although I have no authority for saying that a man was said to "kiss the Maiden" when he was guillotined, there can be no doubt that such a phrase would have been perfectly well understood to signify it, at least in Scotland, where the following popular saying is well known, "he that invented the Maiden first *hanselled* it," i. e. caressed it.

I am not aware that the machine in question was ever employed in England; but the rack there was called "the Duke of Exeter's *daughter*," and about the same time there was in the Tower of London an instrument of torture called "the Scavenger's daughter." (Vide Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, p. 157, and the authority there cited.) I think also that I have somewhere read of Guy Fawkes having been threatened with being made to kiss the Duke of Exeter's daughter. At any rate the phrase was very commonly used, and even at the present day would require no explanation amongst people of education.

Having shown that the kiss of the Maiden may be referable to the guillotine, let us see how the matter stood in Germany. There, *Hals-ringen* (to embrace by putting the arms round any one's neck) and *kussen* (to kiss with the lips) are used convertibly, one for the other, in common conversation; and, according to old representations of the German plank, the culprit's neck was put into a wooden collar, which kept it steady, and enabled the blade of the machine to do its office unfailingly. A sort of collar also called the Virgin appears to have been formerly placed as a punishment about the necks of prisoners. Dr. Lommel of Nuremberg told me in 1832, that this was the case at Wurtzberg, and that he remembered, when he was a boy, to have seen there part of a wooden image which was formerly hung round the necks of culprits as an instrument of torture. This was probably the Virgin, or *Jungfer*, which Adelung in his dictionary (voce Jungfer, 6, 7) defines to be a block, to which prisoners were fastened with smith's work, and which they were obliged to bear about with them in their arms wherever they went. Here, then, we have virgins

The passage in question is represented to have been extracted from a Chronicle (which the author has not indicated) and may be thus rendered in English: "In the year of our Lord 1533, the Iron Virgin was constructed, for the punishment of evil doers, within the wall of the Froschthurm (or Frogstower) opposite the place called *die Sieben Zeiler* (that is to say, the Seven Ropes); so, at least, it was publicly given out to justify the thing. Therein was an *iron* statue, *seven feet high*, which stretched abroad both its arms in the face of the criminal; and death by this machine was said to send the poor sinner to the fishes. For so soon as the executioner moved the step, on which it stood, it hewed, with broad hand swords, the criminal into little pieces, which were swallowed by fishes in hidden waters. Such secret tribunals," continues the author, by way of comment on the foregoing extract, "existed formerly in many countries. I do not, however, know whether any traces yet remain of the one here described, and I have never read that any use was ever made of it; perhaps the whole affair may be nothing more than a legend."

In May 1832 curiosity led me to Nuremberg; for I had a long time been desirous of visiting a city so celebrated for its antiquities.

embracing the necks of prisoners; but I have never been able to ascertain whether the wooden collar which formed part of the old plank was called *virgin*. If so, we should have a virgin forming part of that machine embracing her victim; and death by the plank might, by an extremely popular figure of speech, have been often called in Germany "the kiss of the Virgin." I cannot venture to assert positively that such was the case, but I have more than one reason for believing it to be highly probable. Dendermond in Flanders once belonged to Germany, and we find the following law was enforced there A.D. 1233, "quicunque per vim *fœminam* violaverit, ei collum cum *assere* (vulgo *planke*) debet abscidi;" vide David Lindanus tr. de Tentermonda (art. 20). We find also a similar law adverted to in the Saaelfelder statutes of the 13th century (art. 2), which is thus expressed: "Wirt ein man begriffen ander waren tad daer eine Fraven oder eine maget notzoget, man sal yme den stalz abestoze mit ein Winbrechen *Deile*." From these passages it is clear that decapitation by the *plank* or *deal* was the punishment inflicted on those who offered violence to women! Now this is a species of the *lex talionis* which is better relished and more readily understood by barbarous people, and even by the common people of the present day, than any other code. Even the threats of the latter bear frequently an indirect allusion to it: "He laughs at me, does he? I'll make him laugh the other side of his mouth!" "He has stolen my horse-collar, has he? I'll give him a hempen collar to boot!" These, and such like, are expressions often heard amongst the common people of England; and I believe, amongst those of every other nation, we shall find similar expressions. May not then the common people of the middle ages have been accustomed to say something of this kind, "So, he has kissed a virgin? We shall see how he will like to be kissed by the virgin into whose hands he is about to be delivered."

I was addressed to a person there, said to be distinguished amongst the most enlightened of his fellow citizens, and who gave me this answer to my inquiries relative to the Virgin.

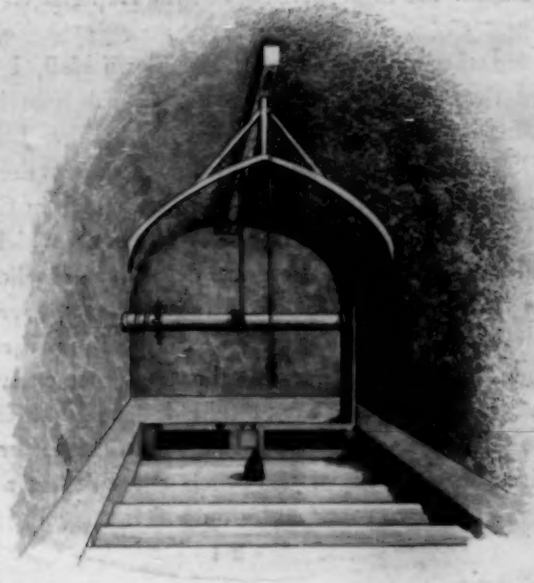
"I have heard of such a thing, but doubt whether it ever existed here. Popular taste in every age has hunted after the marvellous; and here, as in other countries, there have not been wanting foresters to start game for it. If such a machine ever existed in Nuremberg, it must have been at the town hall, where there are yet to be seen the prisons which were formerly made use of in our city; but I doubt whether you will find it there. Such a thing is much more likely to be found in some of the castles in the neighbourhood."

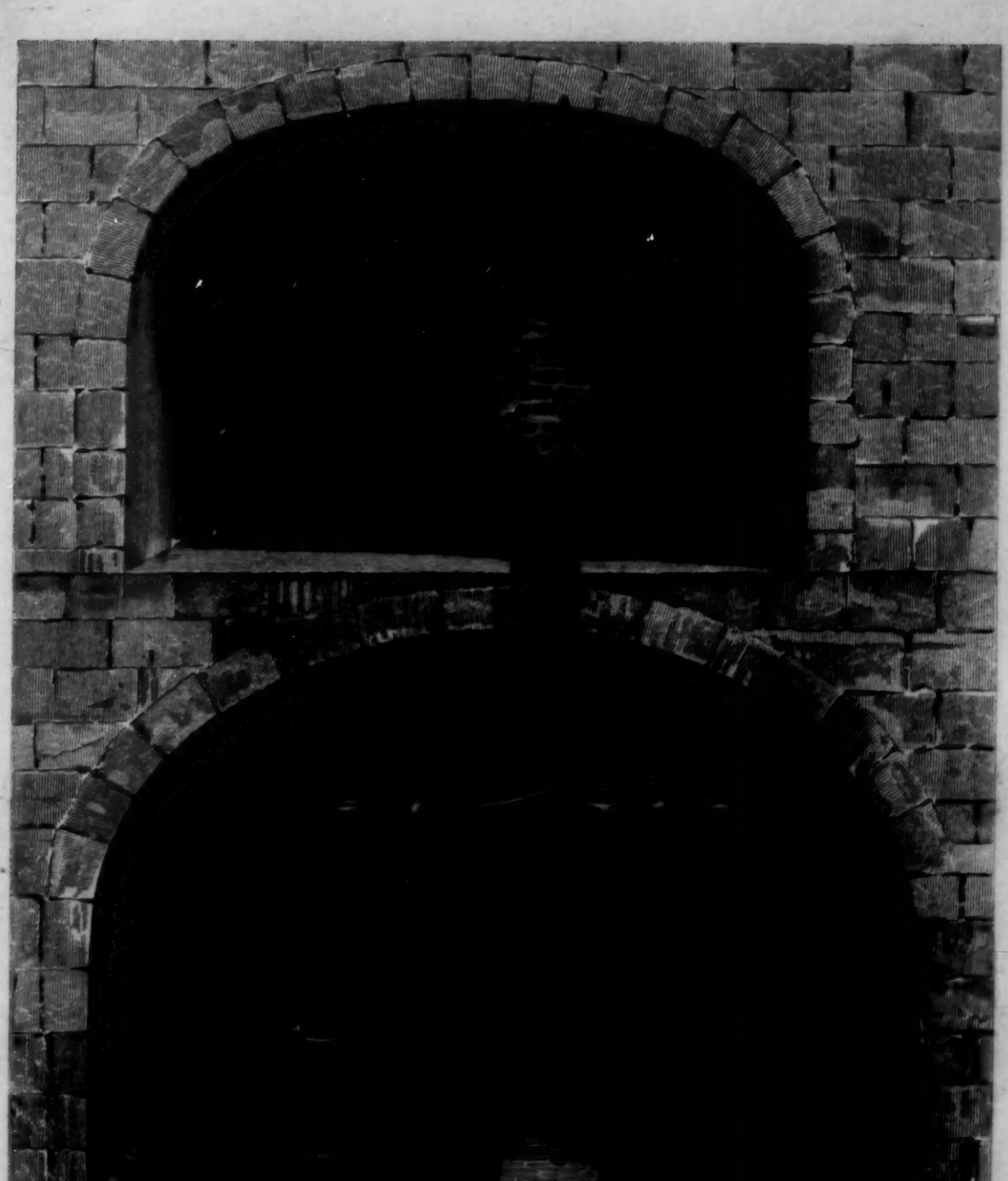
I went accordingly to the town hall, and although I found no "Virgin," I found other things which perfectly satisfied me that the old patrician citizens of Nuremberg had no right to ascribe to themselves feelings of humanity superior to those of the old Robber-Chivalry, who I have generally observed to be a sort of scape-goat amongst the Germans of the present day, and to be accused of almost every vice and violence which distinguished the age in which they lived. Far be it from me to think the ancient magistrates of Nuremberg worse than those of any other city; but we shall see in the sequel, with what charity and moderation the high privileges of the Imperial Corporations were exercised.

On asking to see the old dungeons of the Town Hall, I was taken to a place there called the "*Lock*," or Hole, and a horrid hole it was! After a descent of about fifteen or sixteen narrow and rapid stairs, I found myself in a passage which led into a subterranean corridor. Here, on the left hand of the entrance, was a machine very similar to our stocks, which in Germany is commonly called a fiddle. (See Pl. XV.) It is a fiddle, however, which must have produced most horrid music; for it was there that those persons who had the misfortune to fall under the suspicion of the old city government, received their first notions of its paternal administration of justice by being invited to confess the crimes laid to their charge, through the silent but persuasive eloquence of thumb screws and thorn collars. I was told, indeed, that the accused was merely obliged to wait here till he was introduced to the torture chamber; but there was something in the form of the bench where he sat which told a different story. I refer to two round holes on which the culprits were obliged

to sit, and which plainly shewed that the purposes for which they were placed there were expected to derange the animal economy of their bodies, and that convenience and cleanliness rendered such apertures necessary.

On each side of the corridor were prisons, little more than six feet square, completely dark and cased with oak; such material affording more security than a stone wall, in consequence of the difficulty of removing planks without noise being greater than that of disturbing bricks and mortar. But any apprehension of escape must have been uncalled for; because the culprits appeared to have been usually chained to the oaken benches which served them for beds. In most of the dungeons was a heavy square stone, about a foot high, the middle of which was hollowed out into the shape of a funnel. This seemed at first to be intended as a receptacle for fire, but my conductor told me it was intended to serve the purposes of nature. The mind recoils with horror and disgust at the bare idea of a man being subjected to such confinement, in such a place, and in such an atmosphere. Either the patricians must have had no fellow feeling for those they governed, or else close air and foul smells had formerly not the same effect on our health and nerves as they now have.





Interior of the Chamber at Nuremberg, with the presumed form of the Instrument in the room beneath.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April. 19th 1838

A little further on there was a torture chamber, yet containing, in an imperfect state, the stretching machine or perpendicular rack; and in a vault still further on, and which was also occasionally used as a torture chamber, there were two stone weights, one of fifty pounds, and the other of a hundred, which used to be attached to the ancles of the persons who were put to this variety of the question. "Some years back," said my conductor, "a complete torture apparatus, boots, collars, thumb-screws, and all other appurtenances, were to be seen here, but they have since been removed and sold for old iron."

Near the entrance of the vault, in which I found the stone weights, was a strong door. "That," said my guide (who was an old man, and had been from his youth upwards the guardian of these regions), "leads to the subterranean passages which were formerly the place of refuge of the patricians in time of tumult or other danger. Each of them had a secret door leading from the cellar of his house into these passages, by means of which he could escape, and remain there till any danger which threatened him had passed away. The chief of every patrician family was bound by oath to keep secret the position and existence of such door, and to wall it up if ever misfortune or necessity should oblige him to part with his house to any one who was not of his own order. There are a great many of these passages; and some of them are extremely long and have never been thoroughly explored. It is said that one of them goes under the wall and ditch of our city, and has a secret outlet at some place in the surrounding country where there was formerly a wood."

My curiosity was piqued to see something of these passages, and having procured fresh lights, we selected one of them, and entered. It was narrow, and well riveted with brick. After walking four or five hundred yards, we came to a place where the ceiling had been repaired and covered with plaster, on which the workmen had marked the initials of their names, while the plaster was wet, and added a date of 1592. About fifty yards further on were two reservoirs, made on either side of the wall, for the purpose of holding water, in which fish might be kept alive for the maintenance of those who had taken refuge here. The passage afterwards went about a hundred yards further on, until it was stopped in front by a solid rock. Up to this point it was nearly straight, horizontal, perfectly dry, and in good repair; but on arriving at the rock, it turned round, at right angles, and had only one side

riveted, the rock forming the other side. Here it became lower, and very irregular in width, and after pursuing it for about forty or fifty paces further, we were obliged to stop, in consequence of the mud which had been caused by the land water draining through the rock, and which, the further we went, got deeper and deeper, and extremely inconvenient to us. We returned therefore towards the day light; and, although in retracing our steps I observed passages shooting off in different directions, I did not attempt to explore any of them, for my guide not only confessed his inability to tell me where they led, but assured me that there was no one in the city who knew more on that subject than himself.

But the Virgin! for I had neither forgotten nor abandoned her. After what I had seen, there was no reason to believe that the humanity of the ancient magistrates of Nuremberg would have been particularly abstemious in employing her, however completely disconnected they may have been with the predatory gentry [b] of the surrounding country. The Virgin was no where to be found in the vaults of the town hall, and, according to my guide, she had never been there. He said, however, that he had frequently heard that such a machine had been formerly employed, and that he recollected that the women, when he was a boy, used to still their children by saying to them, "I'll give thee to the Virgin." I asked him whether he thought it was in the *Frosch-Thurm*, but he answered me positively in the negative, and said that he did not believe there was any place near the *Sieben Zeiler* where it could possibly be deposited. "But," added he, "if you wish to know any thing particular about such a matter, you had better go to Dr. Mayer, who is the keeper of the archives; he can tell you more about such matters than any one here." I went to him accordingly.

Dr. Mayer told me that the passage from the Chronicle quoted by Siebenkees was no fable: that the machine had formerly stood in a vault near to the *Sieben Zeiler*; and that he himself had seen part of the machinery which belonged to it, although the figure itself had disappeared.

[b] I have used the word gentry here, rather than *nobility*, because our word nobility, in its ordinary acceptation, refers to the Peerage, and it is only the high nobility of Germany, that is to say those who had anciently the *hereditary right of seat and vote in the Diet or Parliament of the Empire*, who can be classed with our Peers. The rest, titular Counts, Barons and others, were called *nieder* Adel, and must be classed with our *nobiles minores* or gentry.

"The figure," said he, "stood at the brink of a trap-door; and when the individual who had suffered by its embraces was released from them, he fell downwards through it on a sort of cradle of swords, placed in a vault underneath, and which were arranged so as to cut his body into pieces, which dropt into running water over which the machine stood!"

He could not tell me the precise manner in which this machine operated, but said that he understood it to have been thus: two wooden cylinders were placed parallel to each other, so as to extend right across the inferior vault; into the front of each of these cylinders were screwed a great many iron blades, which projected in the face of each other, and crossed each other like scissor-blades; and into the rear of the same cylinders were screwed an equal number of curved bars of iron. The cylinders, being thus armed, were put in equilibrio by means of weights, and by placing the ends of the bars on strong beams, so that, when any thing heavy fell from above on the blades, they were put in motion, and made to perform a cutting movement. I need not say that in this manner the body of a man must have been soon minced to pieces; but in order to give the reader a clear idea of the contrivance in question, I must refer him to the drawing (Plate XV.), and at the same time recal to his mind a toy which he has perhaps been familiar with in infancy, and which is in England called the prancing dragoon; for there must, I apprehend, have been the same principle of movement in both.

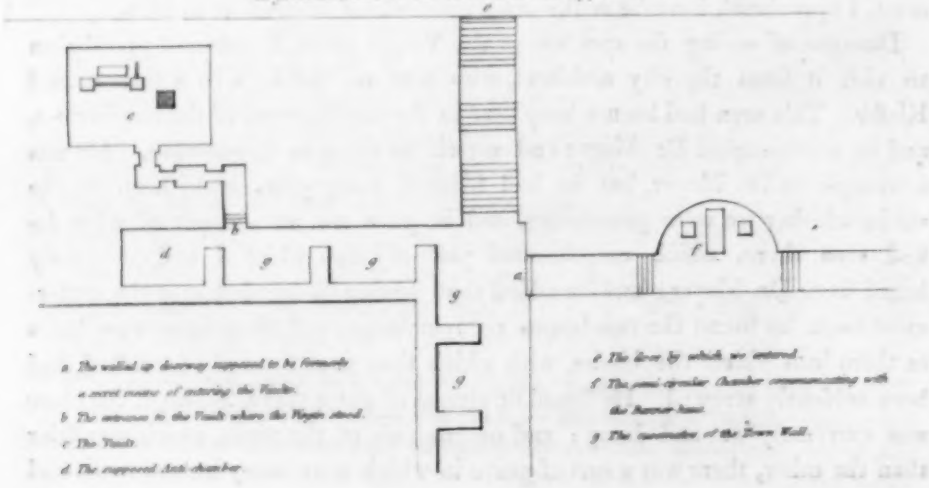
Desirous of seeing the spot where the Virgin stood, I procured permission to visit it from the city architect, who sent me the keys by a man named Kiefer. This man had been a long time in the employment of the magistrates, and he accompanied Dr. Mayer and myself to the spot in question. He was a stranger to Dr. Mayer, but he had himself, many years back, been in the vaults whither we were proceeding, and he gave me an account of what he had seen there, which corroborated perfectly that which I had previously heard from Dr. Mayer; and he added that, having descended into the undermost vault, he found the two beams yet remaining, and that there were holes in them into which the blades, with which they were formerly furnished, had been evidently screwed. He found no stream of water there, although the place was extremely wet and damp; and on one side of the vault, which was drier than the other, there was a sort of grave in which were many human sculls and

bones. I asked him whether he had ever known any one who had seen the machine in a perfect state? He answered me in the affimative, and told me that, in his youth, he had known an old man named Kaiferlin who had seen it so, and that he had heard from this person that there was formerly a stream of water which flowed through the lower vault. He stated also that this Kaiferlin told him (and I beg the reader's attention to this fact) that two or three days before the entry of the French into Nuremberg, the Virgin and all the instruments of torture formerly kept in the place where she was, were taken away by night in a cart, and that neither she nor they had ever been heard of since.

Having obtained this information, we went to the spot pointed out by Dr. Mayer, which was exactly such as is described in the Chronicle.

In face of the street called the Sieben Zeiler, and not far distant from a building called the Banner Haus (where the civic feasts were anciently given) stood one of the bastions in the town wall. It was what engineers call a full bastion, and the terre plein, instead of having an interior slope, was scarped off perpendicularly and riveted with stone. In this rivetment was a small old-fashioned door. Through this we descended by a flight of about forty or fifty steps into the casements of the bastion.

A ground Plan of the Vault and its approaches.



It will be seen by the accompanying plan, that on arriving at the bottom of these steps there is a spot marked *a*. Here was a door-way which was walled up, and which I shall have occasion to speak of hereafter. At present, however, I must direct the reader's attention to the spot marked *d*. At this point I found a sort of recess or chamber formed by the projection of one of the counterforts of the town wall. In this chamber there were joists and rafters and other indications of a planked floor having been formerly there, and indeed it is extremely probable that this spot was used as a sort of waiting room to the vaults in which the Virgin stood, it being almost immediately opposite to the door of the passage which leads to them.

This passage, as will be seen in the plan, is narrow, and was secured with no less than four doors. Some of them yet remained. They were of iron, and all made to fasten externally.

Through this passage we entered the chamber marked *e*. It was here that the Virgin received her prey. This chamber was perfectly dark; near the centre of the floor was a square hole, and on the sides of it were the remains of hinges, which showed that it had been formerly covered with a trap door. In a line with this hole I remarked, on the opposite wall, four holes, the position of which made it evident that some important piece of machinery had once been fixed there. Immediately over the square hole in the floor was a reel fixed into the ceiling, such as might be used either for suspending a lamp or for letting persons down into the vault beneath. This I found to be of much greater size than the upper vault. Having no ladder or other means of descending, all I could do was to let down a strong light at the end of a string, by means of which I was enabled to see its interior.

It was arched like the upper chamber, and on the ground of it lay beams and large pieces of wood, showing clearly that a construction of no ordinary dimensions had once existed there, and being such as might very naturally belong to such a machine as had been described to me by Kiefer and Dr. Mayer. The grave also which had been mentioned by the former was to be seen. The woodwork, and every thing which lay on the floor of this place, was in a state of great decay, owing to a quantity of water which had accumulated on the floor; and, although no stream runs through it at present, it is not at all impossible but that there might have been one formerly; or that there might then have been a means of letting water flow through the vault

for the purpose of washing away the blood or whatever else, without some such means of cleansing, would have created an intolerable putrescency. I ought not to omit to remark that a corner of the upper one of the vaults which I have been describing, was occupied by one of those torture benches called fiddles, similar in every respect to the one seen in the subterranean chambers of the town hall.

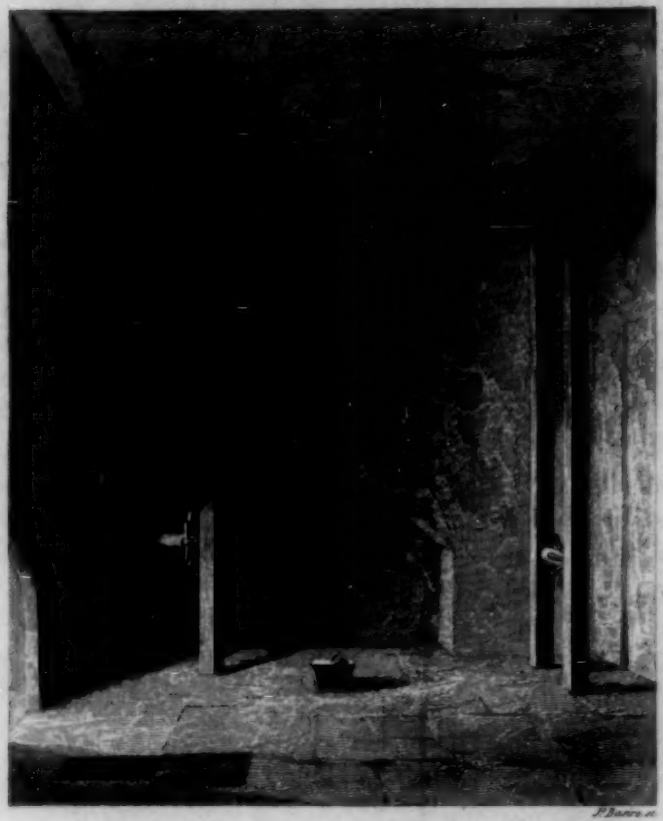
Having inspected all that was to be seen, we returned homewards. I could not, however, help remarking that if the persons intended to suffer death or torture in this horrid apartment entered it in the same way as ourselves, their so doing would be hardly consistent with the intentions of those who had constructed it; for it was evidently not intended to be an appendage to any system of *public* justice, but must have been the slaughter-house of some tribunal which executed its decrees in secret.

It therefore seemed as if the apartment in question must have been approached through the blocked up door-way marked *a*, which must have led thither from some prison or other building of importance; and from what I afterwards heard (from a person whose name I am not at liberty to mention, but whose education, means of information, and respectability would give credit to any testimony) I found that my conjecture was correct.

The person to whom I have last alluded, pointed out to me the Banner-house which I have already stated to be at no great distance from the entrance door of the vaults which I had been examining. "This Banner-house," said he, "has cellars underneath it, and in one of them there is yet remaining a small door. On passing through it, you find yourself in a narrow passage. Go on a few paces and you will find two or three steps: mount these, and you enter a small semicircular room, in which is yet to be seen a stone table with seats. Pass onwards, through this chamber, and you will be obliged to descend steps similar to those by which you arrived at it, after which, on proceeding a short distance, you will arrive at a doorway, now walled up, but which formerly led through the casements of the old fortress to the chamber where the Virgin was deposited." And I take this walled-up doorway to be the one which I have marked *a* in the accompanying plan.

Having thus established the fact of the Virgin's existence by hearsay evidence, and confirmed it by the testimony of two intelligent living witnesses, who corroborated each other, I was obliged to rest contented for the time

Castle at Saltzburg. The Torture Chamber in the square tower to the right.



Interior of the Torture Chamber.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 15th 1838.

with the progress of my researches, and to trust to chance for enabling me at a future moment to find out the machine itself.

Before I left Nuremberg, however, I tried to find out whether there was any well-known instance of a person who had suffered by the "Virgin." The reply I received was in the negative; and the absence of such instances was accounted for, by the proceedings of the tribunal to which the Virgin belonged having been always secret. But I was told that there was in existence an old Nuremberg ballad, the subject of which was a runaway match between a patrician girl and a plebeian youth, who, as the song goes, was made to perish in the arms of the Virgin by the family of the wife, as an expiation for the offence he had committed in dishonouring it with his lowly alliance.

As, however, I could not procure a copy of this ballad when I was on the spot, and as I have never been able to find or hear of it since, and more particularly as the time to which it relates was said to be previous to the 14th century, I am inclined to doubt its authenticity; for there is some reason to believe that the Virgin did not exist in Germany before the 15th century.

It was not until the year 1834 that I obtained any further information about the machine in question.

At that time I made an excursion to Vienna, and passed through Saltzburg. In the castle at the latter place, I was shewn a torture chamber, where I was assured that a Virgin had formerly stood, and an Austrian serjeant, who showed me over the place, an intelligent man, assured me that this engine was at that time deposited in the Imperial arsenal at Vienna.

The torture chamber at Saltzburg was situated in a small square tower. (Plate XVI.) Like the vault at Nuremberg, it had a trap-door in its floor, into a still larger chamber underneath, but this had evidently never had any machinery in it like the inferior vault at Nuremberg. Both chambers at Saltzburg were sufficiently well lighted, and I am much inclined to think that the undermost one was merely a room where culprits were obliged to wait until they were hauled up out of it to be examined in the upper one.

At Vienna I did not fail to make inquiries at the Imperial arsenal, concerning the Virgin which was said to have been deposited there; but the persons who had the custody of that building assured me that no such engine was in it, nor to their knowledge in Vienna.

Many persons of the better class, to whom I spoke on the subject, denied that the Virgin had ever existed in Austria; but my laquais-de-place, and others of the lower class, told me, that when they were young, it was said to be standing in a tower which hangs over the canal that runs through Vienna into the Danube, and that whenever the water there looked a little red (as was usually the case after a storm) nothing was more common than to hear people say, "So the Virgin has been at her work again."

At length I learnt accidentally in conversation, that a specimen of this terrible machine might be seen in a collection of Antiquities belonging to a certain Baron Diedrich, and kept in a castle called Feistritz, which he had purchased on the borders of Steirmark; and which he very politely permitted me to visit.

A predilection for the relics of past time, and a very considerable fortune, have given to the proprietor of this castle the disposition and means of assembling there a great quantity of ancient arms and armour, furniture, books, and other things of an interesting character; but the history of his becoming possessed of the Virgin (Plates XVII. XVIII.) is particularly worthy of attention.

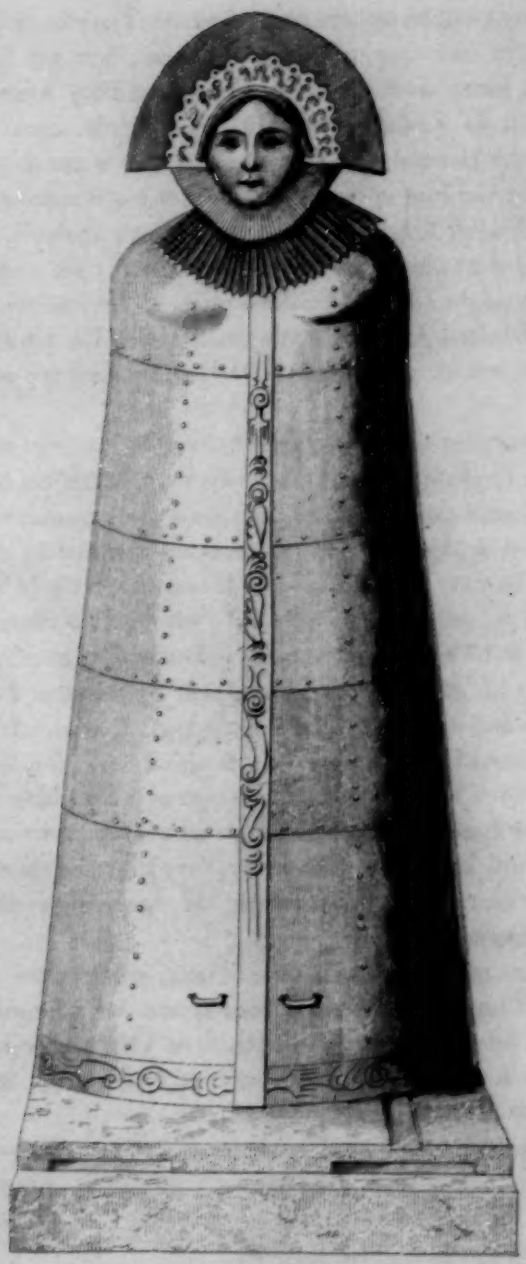
"I bought it," said he to me, "of a person who obtained it, *with the left hand*, during the French revolution, and had with it *great part of the contents of the arsenal of* NUREMBERG. From him I received it *in a cart* with several things which had formerly belonged to that arsenal. It came to me rusted and in bad condition, deprived of its machinery, but accompanied by the pedestal on which it now stands, and which seems to have been made for it."

Now let the reader look at the Plates which represent accurately the Virgin in question, and he will see something very like the costume of Nuremberg in the 16th century, which is precisely the epoch when the Virgin is said to have been constructed there.

Let him also understand that the Virgin, represented by the drawing, is just seven feet high, Nuremberg measure, and is made entirely of iron, and then, I think, he will agree with me that the Virgin now in the possession of M. De Diedrich must be the same machine which stood formerly in the subterranean vault of the before-mentioned city.

When I saw it, it was placed on a sort of low wooden pedestal, hollow, and

Ornament on the front.



Scale one inch to a foot.

The Jungfer or Virgin as it stood in 1834 in the Castle of Feistritz belonging to Baron Diedrich of Vienna.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 19th 1838.

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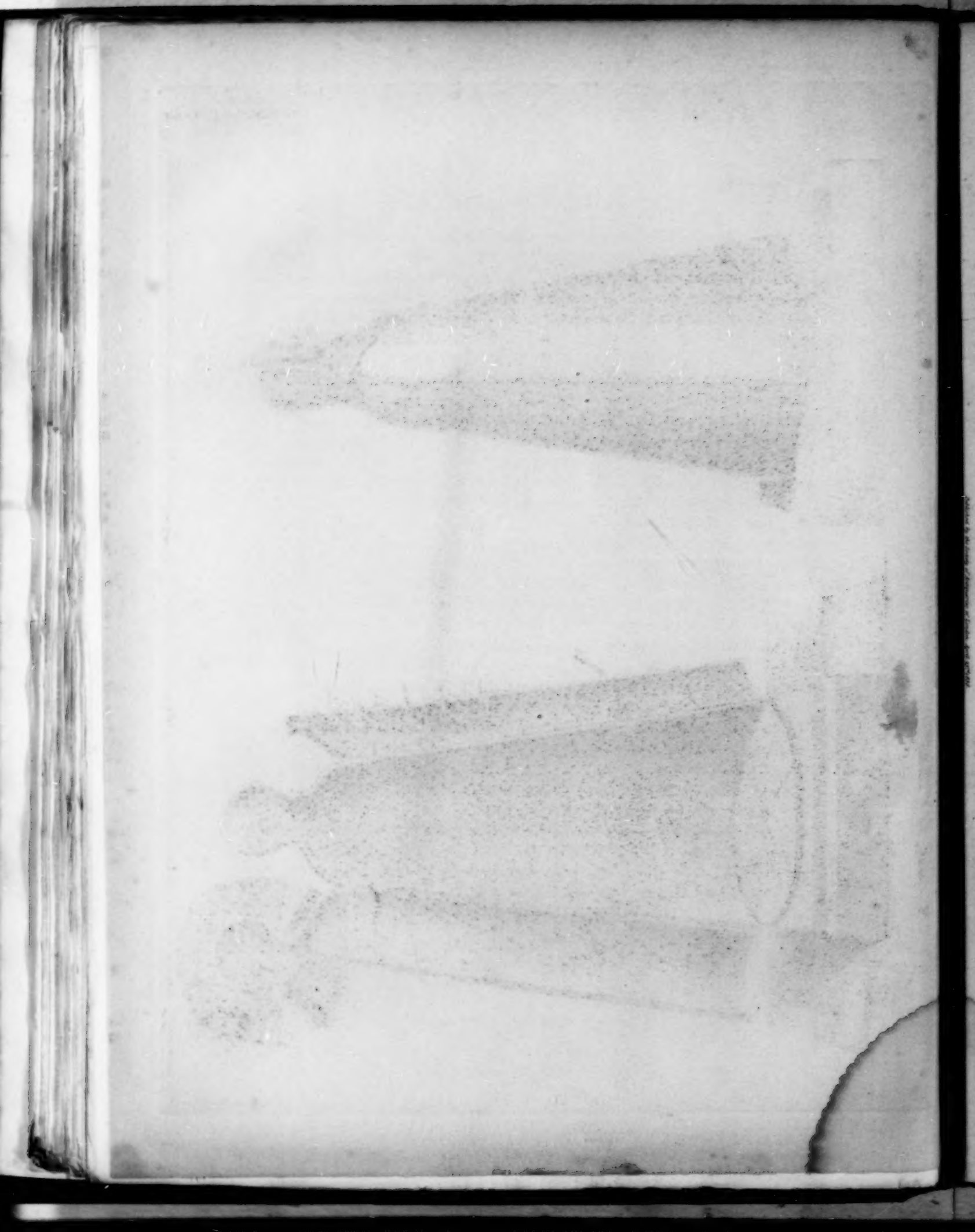

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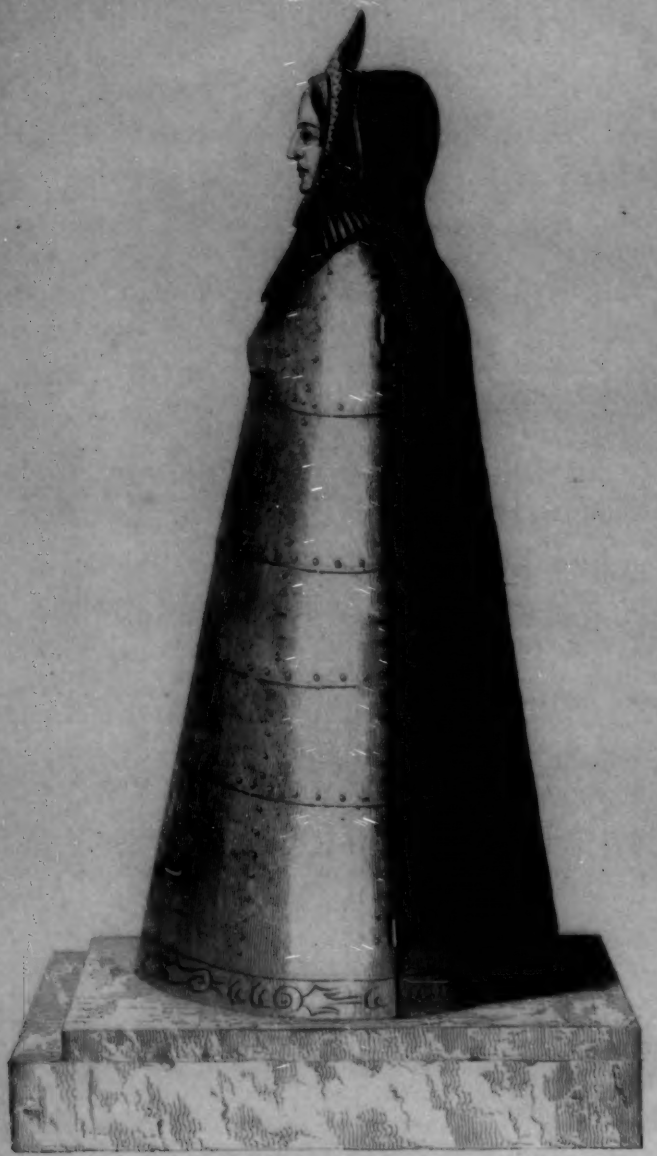
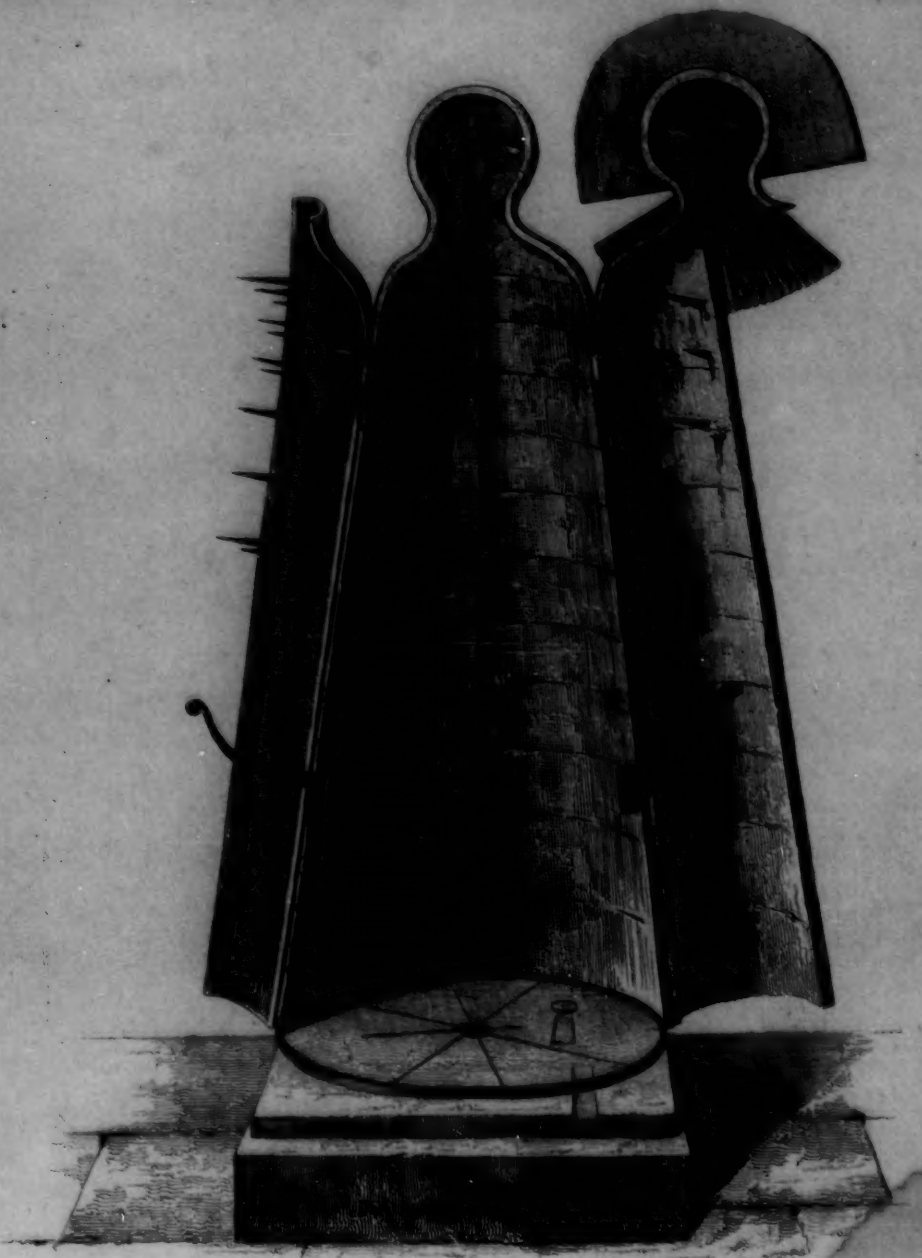


Profile of the Virgin at Poistritz.



Interior of the Figure.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1st 1831

square, which, as I have before said, accompanied the machine itself into the hands of its present possessor.

The construction of the figure was simple enough. A skeleton, formed of bars and hoops, was coated over with sheet iron, which was laid on and painted, so as to represent a Nuremberg-citizen's wife of the 16th century, in the mantle then generally worn by that class of persons.

From the plate representing the interior of the machine, the reader will see that the front of it opened like folding doors, the two halves of the front part of it being connected by hinges with the back part. On the inside of its right breast are thirteen quadrangular poniards. There are eight of these on the inside of the left breast, and two on the inside of the face. These last were clearly intended for the eyes of the victim, who must have therefore gone backwards into it, and have received, in an upright position, in his breast and head, the blades to which he was exposed. That this machine had been formerly used cannot be doubted, because there are evident blood stains yet visible on its breast and on the upper part of its pedestal. How it was worked is not known, for the mechanism which caused it to open and shut is no longer attached to it; but that there was some such mechanism, is clear from the holes and sockets which have been cut out on the surface of the pedestal, showing the points where parts of the apparatus, intended to work it, must have been inserted. It stands at present on castors, and there are two iron springs which its present proprietor has caused to be placed in it, for the purpose of making its sides to open whenever it is moved forward; but this is merely done to startle, by way of pleasantry, those who see it for the first time, and without any idea of explaining the means by which it was anciently made to perform its office.

Perhaps, however, I can throw some little light on this difficulty. In the year 1835 I met at Liege with a very well-educated and accomplished man of letters; he was a Frenchman by birth, and had been attached to the Court of Joseph Bonaparte, when he was promoted by his brother Napoleon to be King of Spain. There my informant told me that he had an opportunity of inspecting the chamber of the Inquisition at Madrid, and that among other instruments with which it was provided, he found an image of the Virgin Mary, composed partly of wood and partly of iron. This engine

was called "Mater Dolorosa," and with it was administered the last and severest degree of torture. Its ordinary position was that of a woman standing erect, with her arms crossed on her bosom; but there was a contrivance by which she was made to expand her arms, and then the inside surfaces of them were seen to be garnished with a number of small points or stilettes. The person to be tortured was placed opposite to her, breast to breast, and then her arms were brought round his back, and by means of a powerful screwing implement made to grasp him tightly, so as to inflict great pain, and to render it impossible that he could fall from her gripe. Whilst she held him thus firmly, a trap-door was opened under his feet, so as to cause him to hang in agony over an abyss. In this position he was importuned to confess his guilt, whilst the arms of the machine were slowly and gradually screwed tighter and tighter, till life was squeezed out of his body. His corpse was then released, and fell through the trap-door into a sort of *oubliette*. Now, I am much inclined to think that the machine in the possession of Baron Diedrich was made to do its inhuman duty somewhat in the same manner as the machine in the Spanish Inquisition; that is to say, its front was probably forced down on the person within by means of some screwing apparatus which is now lost.

Perhaps also the merit of having invented the Virgin is due to the genius of Spain, and it is by no means improbable that it was from thence transplanted into Germany during the reign of Charles the Fifth, who was monarch of both countries. According to M. de Pfeffel (Abrégé de l'Histoire d'Allemagne, p. 414) there were great tumults in Germany during the years 1531 and 1532, and continual quarrels at Nuremberg between the Protestants and Catholics. "In 1532 was published," says he, "the famous Criminal Code of the Empire, which was the most severe and the least observed in Europe." In 1533 (only one year later) the Iron Virgin was, according to the Chronicle cited by Siebenkees, constructed at Nuremberg. This latter fact is sufficiently remarkable; for one may see that, not content with having made a penal law more cruel than the spirit of the German people, the Imperial Government of that day quietly permitted the institution of a punishment not authorised by that law, and too remarkable to escape attention. How is this fact to be explained? One is almost tempted to believe that some member of the Supreme

Council of Castile had thus addressed himself to the German ministry of his sovereign: "Gentlemen, you have done your work awkwardly: you have attempted to do in public more than your people are prepared to welcome! You may, however, repair your error. Do in secret that which you may find it inconvenient to do openly; and if you wish to know *how*, go to Venice, or come to us, and you will see that, in our secret tribunals, we get on with our business very well, without being subjected to the inconvenience of shocking public sensibility!"

As I have not the means of consulting those books and authorities which might fix the time when this machine was first employed in Spain, I cannot do more than offer, as a bare supposition, my idea that it was received from them into Germany; but I was told by Mr. Gèvay, a learned and distinguished Hungarian in the Imperial Library at Vienna, that he had read of this machine in a Spanish romance of the early part of the 16th century, which proves that it was known in Spain at the period in question. The author also of a French romance, published at Paris in 1828, and entitled Cornelia Boroquia, makes mention of it as Spanish, and this attributes it to the same epoch, for she was tortured, if I remember rightly, in the 16th century. Add to this, that it is an instrument much more congenial with the genius of the Spanish nation than with that of the Germans. The latter are not naturally cruel, although they may be sufficiently prone to imitate bad example; and if one examines the German instruments of torture of the 16th century, he will find them extremely rude and simple, whilst those of Spain are not only better wrought, but have an elegance of form, and an ingenuity in their contrivance, which could only come from the hands of persons who could follow and study this kind of manufacture with zeal and pleasure, and be ambitious of the peculiar distinction which a successful cultivation of it might produce.[c]

[c] The following extract from Hampton's Polybius seems to attribute the *invention* of the Virgin to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, who died B. C. 192: "He (Nabis) contrived also a machine, if it may be called by such a name, an image of a woman, magnificently dressed, and formed in a most exact resemblance of his wife. And when his intention was to draw money from any of the citizens, he invited them to his house, and represented to them the great cost of maintaining the worship of the Gods, &c. If these arguments prevailed, it was sufficient for his purpose. But if all his solicitations were without effect, then he used to say: 'I want, it seems, the power of persuasion; but Apega, I believe, will

There can be no doubt that many of these engines were formerly to be found in Germany, especially in corporate cities, and in the castles of wealthy and powerful princes; and there can be as little doubt that shame, at the idea of having the reputation of even countenancing a thing so barbarous, has induced, in almost every instance, the posterity of their original possessors to hide, or destroy, or sell them for old iron; so that one may regard the machine now in the possession of Baron Diedrich as a very great rarity. I have, within the last year, been told of the existence of at least half a dozen; but on making inquiries at the places where they were reported to be present, I have invariably received answers in the negative. I remember that an old Austrian artillery man, who, in 1834, was living at the castle of Baron Diedrich, told me that, when he was a young man and garrisoned at Prague (which was fifty-seven years anterior to the time of our conversation), there was a machine of this kind at the Wenzels-Burg, near that city, and that it stood on the first floor of that building, in a long room, which was then used by the Austrian artillery as a laboratory. This man was nearly eighty years old, but was in full possession of his intellects, and he told his story so simply and naturally, that I could have no doubt of its correctness. He said that the machine was made differently to that in the castle, for that it had arms, and that the soldiers used to amuse themselves by making them open and shut, until one day they broke the machinery, and so crippled it. He described particularly the place where it stood, and said that he and his comrades, and every body else, regarded it as a useless piece of old iron. He added, that he himself had never seen any others than the Virgin at Prague, and that belonging to his master, but that in his youth he had heard of many, which he could not particularize, because at that time it was generally believed that they existed in every town where the

persuade you.' Apega was the name of his wife. Upon these words an image of the woman that has been mentioned immediately appeared. Nabis then taking her by the hand raised her from her seat, and folding afterwards his arms round the person whom he had been soliciting, brought him near by degrees to the body of the image, whose breast, arms, and hands were stuck full of points of iron, concealed under the clothes; and then pressing the back of the pretended woman with his hands, by means of some secret spring, he fixed the man close to her breast, and soon forced him to promise all he desired. But there were some also who perished in this torture, when they refused to comply with his demands." Vide vol. ii. ed. Lond. 1772, p. 291.

corporation possessed a criminal jurisdiction, although they were regarded as relics of antiquity which had long ceased to be employed.

There can be no doubt, however, that this machine no longer exists at Prague. I was there in November 1834, and took much pains to find it out, but in vain.

The keeper of the council-house told me that, some years ago, he had in his possession the instruments of torture and execution which formerly were used by the magistracy, and that there was no such machine as the Virgin amongst them. He said, however, that such an engine was reported to have anciently existed in the white tower on the Headchin, where state criminals were formerly executed in secret. But this tower was in ruins, so there was no chance of finding it there; although I understood, from a person who descended into the pit of it, that, from the number of human bones to be found there, one might fairly conclude that the office of executioner was no sinecure in former times.

I have since heard, on the evidence of a most respectable eye-witness that, some years ago, there was a "Virgin" in the castle of Ambrass, near Insbruck, which was furnished with arms, like that at Prague.

I have heard, also on very respectable testimony, that another, similar to the former, was, some years since, in the royal castle at Berlin; but I have not been able to ascertain whether it now exists there.

Another is said to be standing, *in a perfect state*, in the castle of Schwerin; but in this case I cannot rely on my authority as in the others.

Probably one might find in Spain other specimens of this machine; perhaps some may exist in Italy, for I have heard that at the close of the war of 1814, there was something very like it at Florence. But in Germany the country has been, from time to time, so pillaged and overturned by war, that it is more than difficult, at the present day, to lay one's hand on an example; the more especially as the municipal governments there like better to conceal than to avow the existence of such a machine.

But, after having seen the engine in the possession of Baron Diedrich, one can no longer doubt that others of its species were employed as appendages to the ancient tribunals; and one is therefore obliged to regard the story of "*the Kiss of the Virgin*," not as a popular legend, but as history. It is

for the purpose of putting this fact in evidence that I have written the present narration. In the course of another hundred years all substantial traces of the machine will probably have disappeared, and then there will be no want of persons ready to treat as false, a tradition which, nevertheless, throws a sufficiently strong light on the judicial institutions of the past time.

I cannot close these observations without remarking what appears to me to be a very singular circumstance, namely,—that, although the word "*Jungfernkuss*" is familiar to every peasant in Germany, one can neither find it in the Lexicons of Adelung and Campe, nor in any other book of that sort which I have been able to consult. One is almost tempted to believe that explanation of the word was forbidden by the censors of the press.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the machine was employed in many of the European states, and in most, if not in all, of the imperial cities; and perhaps its existence is the strongest proof that can be adduced of the danger of permitting tribunals of criminal justice to do their duty in any other place than an open court.

XVI. *Remarks on the Towneley Mysteries, in a Letter from the Rev.* Lancelot Sharpe, *M.A. (Camb.) F.S.A., addressed to* Thomas Amyot, *Esq. F.S.A. Treasurer.*

Read 16th March, 1837.

St. Saviour's Grammar School, March 11, 1837.

Dear Sir,

I CONGRATULATE you, in common with all the lovers of our antique lore, on the publication of the "Towneley Mysteries" by the Surtees Society. I trust this volume is but the forerunner of a complete edition of the Chester and Coventry Plays, in a similarly elegant form; though with greater accuracy, and a more correct glossary. Mr. Markland, Mr. Collier, and Mr. Sharp, have shown how admirably competent they are to such a task, by the specimens with which already they have respectively enriched the literary world; and I hope they may be prevailed upon to complete the work.

These Mysteries are highly curious, as affording us a specimen of the amusements of our unpolished ancestors, and of the manner in which they endeavoured to combine instruction with entertainment. Whether it succeeded may admit of question.

In them we have the most disgusting ribaldry joined with the deepest pathos; the most revolting blasphemy in connection with the most sacred mysteries of our religion. They seem the exact counterpart of the Easter Sermons mentioned by Dante, as in vogue in his time. Paradiso, xxix. 115—117.

"Ora si va con motti, e con iscede
A predicare, e, pur che ben si rida,
Gonfia 'l cappucio, e più non si richiede:"

by Hospinian, some ages later, De Orig. Fest. Christ. p. 98: "De Risu Paschali. Ab iis vero lætitiæ signis, quæ in memoriam Resurrectionis Dominicæ

in die Paschali edebantur, sine dubio consuetudo illa in plurimis Pontificiis Ecclesiis originem sumpsit, qua in ipso Sacrosancto die Paschæ inter concionandum, ad recreandum auditorum animos et risum excitandum, quum nullo unquam tempore nos magis oporteret esse serios, profanæ et ludicræ proferuntur fabellæ ab ipsis Sacerdotibus, haud aliter quam a scenicis Histrionibus et Circulatoribus. De qua consuetudine Oecolampadius in Epistola ad Capitonem de Risu Paschali. Hunc morem, ait, tanquam sacrum custoditurus frater quidam, magno satis ineruditæ plebeculæ plausu deblatterabat tam ridicula deliramenta, ut me pudeat ejusmodi nugis chartas commaculare, ne aures pias offendam:" and held up to ridicule, so late as the middle of the last century, by Father Isla in his "Fray Gerundio." The following "Instructions of the Town to the Reverend the Preachers," though, no doubt, highly caricatured, would lose all their point, unless they had been grounded on reality. "Easter Sunday. The Sermon of Pleasantries at five o'clock in the morning. In this sermon it is necessary for the Preacher to have all the merry tales, droll fancies, jests, jokes, and witticisms, all the quips, cranks, bams, banters, and buffoonery he can rake together, to divert the immense concourse who come to hear him. He has no need to be nice and squeamish; let them be of what kind they will, however filthy, beastly, or indecent, for it is well known that every thing passes upon this day..... The Father Preachers, who have brought a droll lay-brother with them for their companion (for some have brought such an one) have ordered the lay-brother to get up in the pulpit and preach a burlesque sermon with all manner of Merry-andrew tricks. In general these sermons end with a mock act of contrition, and instead of a crucifix, the lay-brother brings out from under his habit a pye, an hock of bacon, or a bottle of wine, which he addresses with a thousand amorous expressions in the tone of repentant sorrow, making the audience ready to die with laughter."—Vol. ii. pp. 502, 503, translation.

The prochronisms in these Mysteries are very remarkable. If Shakspeare introduces Hector speaking of Aristotle, or Beaumont and Fletcher make Demetrius let off a pistol, we cannot be much surprised that Pharao (p. 63) recommends prayer to Mahowne; Augustus Cæsar (pp. 66, 71) and Pilate (p. 174) swear by him, and his "bloode so dere;" that Herod (p. 120) calls him a "sant." Caiaphas (p. 194) sings mass; Noah's wife (p. 25) swears by

"Mary," and talks of "Stafford blew." The Shepherds (p. 88) are acquainted with "the foles of Gotham;" swear (p. 110) by "Sant Thomas of Kent;" and declare that "Johne Baptyste (who at that time was six months old) sewrly prophesyde," (p 94): with numerous others equally amusing.

A curious charm for bed-time occurs at p. 91:

"For ferde we be fryght a crosse let us kest,
Cryst crosse, benedyght, eest and west,
For dreede.
Jesus o' Nazorus,
Crucyefixus,
Marcus, Andreas,
God be our spede."

This reminds me of a similar rural charm, no doubt of equal antiquity, which, when a boy, I have often heard in Kent:

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Guard the bed that I lay on!
Four corners to my bed;
Four angels round my head!
Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Guard the bed that I lay on!"

But the point to which I wish particularly to draw your attention, in the Towneley Mysteries, is the copiousness and variety of the metres adopted in them. They seem to me to comprise every species of verse known up to the beginning of the fifteenth century; from the common heptasyllabic or octosyllabic distich, triplet, or quatrain, to the more complicated stanza, consisting of "rime entrelacée" and "couwée." Whether they contain any example of "rime baston," I must leave to more competent judges than myself to decide. My own opinion is, that they do. For, with great deference to the judgment and decision of the elegant Historian of English Poetry, I believe that Robert of Brunne, when speaking of "rime baston," does not intend to designate any species of verse that took its name from that poet, who composed in Latin, but simply the common *staff* (baston) or stanza generally used by the Minstrels.

What is very remarkable, we have, in the "Processus Talentorum," p. 233,

many *hexameters*, "where English verse halt ill on Roman feet." I subjoin a few specimens:

"Stemmate regali, kyng Athus gate me of Pila,
Tramite legali I am ordand to reyn apon Juda,
Nomine vulgari Pownce Pilat, that may ye welle say,
Qui bene vult fari shuld calle me fownder of alle lay."

"Judeorum
Jura guberno.
Pleasse me and say so,
Omnia firmo
Sorte deorum."

"Myghty lord of alle, me, Cæsar magnificavit;
Downe on knees ye falle, greatt God me sanctificavit;
Me to obey over alle, regi reliquo quasi David,
Hanged he, that he salle, hoc jussum qui reprobavit."

"I swere now;
Bot ye your hedes
Bare in thes stedes
Redy my swerde is
Of thaym to shere now."

This I conceive to be the earliest instance of the sort that can be adduced in our language; since these verses occur a century, at least, before Gabriel Harvey, Abraham Fraunce, Stanyhurst, or Sir Philip Sidney, adopted this metre as an ornament to our tongue. They exhibit also the earliest specimen of (if not strictly Macaronic verse, yet closely approaching) Macaronic verse; being some years antecedent to Skelton, and nearly half a century to Antonius de Arena or Theophilo Folengio.

It was my intention to have analysed the metre of each Mystery separately; but I soon found that would be a very tedious and uninteresting task. I have gone through the second, "Mactatio Abel." This consists of *twenty-four* (what, for want of a better word, I must call) stanzas, of different kinds of verse, of different lengths; some of them consisting but of six, and from thence varying to twenty-four, lines, with every combination of rime, from the most

simple to the most complicated; in one instance protracted from the 6th and 8th to the 24th line.

Whatever tends to elucidate the manners or the language of our ancestors is interesting. Puttenham, when describing that vicious mode of speech, which the Greeks call *Acyron*, i. e. "when we use a dark and obscure word, utterly repugnant to that we should express," adduces, as an instance, from the "Tanner of Tamworth," (where, by the by, it does not occur) "I *hope* I shall be hanged to-morrow," for "I fear me," &c. A similar instance occurs in the Mysteries, p. 323.

"Lorde, if it be thi wille,
I hope be this he savers ille;
For it is now the fourth day gone
Sen he was laide under yonde stone."

I think I can deduce from these Mysteries an explanation of a passage in Shakspeare, which has hitherto puzzled the Commentators. In "Winter's Tale," Act iv. sc. 3, the Clown asks, "Has he any *unbraided* wares?" In the Glossary to the Towneley Mysteries the word *brade* is explained by "a start, a sudden turn or assault." That it frequently has this signification, I am not unwilling to allow. But it also frequently signifies "a cry, or shriek:" and the verb has a kindred meaning. Indeed, in the following passage from the Mysteries, it can have no other:

"Bot romoure is rasyd so that *boldly thay brade*
Emanges thame."—P. 141.

To *up*braid is to cry out upon, to reproach. *Un*braided, in Shakspeare, therefore, is uncried, not hawked about, spick and span new.

In "Pericles," Act ii. sc. 1. (p. 61, Boswell's edition) we have, "Come away, or I'll fetch thee *with a wannion*." On which Steevens observes, "A phrase of which the meaning is obvious, though I cannot explain the word at the end of it." Boswell asks, "May not *wannion* be a corruption of *winnowing*?" Vanneure, in Cotgrave, is explained, "a winnowing, also a chiding, bayting, schooling."

The meaning of the phrase, instead of the precise words, occurs in the Towneley Mysteries, p. 257:

" Weynde furthe *in the wenyande*,
And hold stylle thy clattur."

Which is well explained in the Glossary, as " an allusion to the belief that actions undertaken *in the wane of the moon* would be unsuccessful."

" *With a wannion*," therefore, is an execration directly opposed to the Persian compliment, " May your shadow *never* be less!"

I am, dear Sir,

your most obedient servant,

LANCELOT SHARPE.

To Thomas Amyot, Esq.
Treasurer S. A., &c. &c.

XVII. *Original Record of the Form of Public Entry of King Henry VIII. into Tournay, after the Surrender in* 1513, *and the Notification, by Queen Catharine of Arragon, of the Birth of the Princess Mary, to the Municipal Authorities of Tournay: Communicated by* G. F. Beltz, *Esq., K.H., F.S.A., Lancaster Herald, in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., &c.*

Read 16th November, 1837.

My dear Sir, Heralds' College, April 3, 1837.

I SEND herewith a copy of the original record of the Form of Public Entry of King Henry VIII. into Tournay, after the surrender in 1513, which I lately met with in the Register, called (from its binding) "*Cuir noir*," remaining amongst the archives of that city.

This Register appears to have been more specially appropriated to the record of similar public entries of Princes, Archbishops, Bishops, and other distinguished personages; the most ancient being that of Philip III. King of France, in 1273.

Besides some details, in the document now submitted, which are interesting to the Antiquary from the circumstance that they were collected at the time of the event, and which I am not aware have been elsewhere preserved, it fixes the date, stated differently by historians, of the King's entrance. Stowe and Hall say that the siege commenced on the 21st of September, and that Henry made his entry on the 2nd October; Lingard places the latter on the 29th, Rapin on the 24th of September. The truth is, that the convention, respecting the pecuniary contribution laid on the city, was dated, according to the copy published by Rymer, on the 23rd—the surrender, according to this record, took place on the 24th, and the public entry on the 25th of that month.

I have subjoined a copy of the original notification, by Queen Catharine of Arragon, of the birth of the Princess Mary, to the municipal authorities of Tournay, preserved among the same archives. The year, 1515-16, is omitted. Rapin states the birth to have happened on the 18th February (the date of the letter), Tindal on the 11th, and Sandford on the 8th of that month.

I remain, with much esteem,

My dear Sir,

yours faithfully,

G. F. BELTZ, Lanc.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

PUBLIC ENTRY OF KING HENRY VIII. INTO TOURNAY 1513. EXTRACTED FROM THE REGISTER "CUIR NOIR," AMONGST THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF TOURNAY.

" De lentree du roy Henry coñe Roy de france et dangleterre.

" Le Dimence xxv jour du mois de septembre lan mil v^e^. et treise Henry par la grace de dieu huitiesme de son nom Roy de france et dangleterre seign^r^ dirlande qui par lespace de dix jours paravant avoit mis le siege devant ceste ville etroite de tournay et grandement le fait battre de gros enguens et auques par traictie et accord sur fait avec roy de france la dite ville sestoit rendue vint premierement en la d. ville et cite et y fist son entree et avant sa dit entree Messires les consaulx dicelle ville envoyerent devers lui au lieu de Maire ou il se tenoit pour savoir la journee quant sa bon plaisir servit de faire sa dit entree en la dit Cite adfin que on se peust preparer pour le recevoir festoyer et honnourer Aussi pour lui recomander la dit ville et lentretenement des privileges et franchises dicelle Lequel seign^r^ les rechut et oy benignement Disant quil avoit intencion de faire sa dit entree le lendemain entre huit et noef heures

du matin qui estoit le dit jour de dimence Et pour ce que le jour estoit sy brief on fist hastinement nettoyer les rues parer les maisons et faire aucunes histoires depuis la porte sainte fontaine par laquelle le dit seign^{r} entra tout jusques en leglise nr̃e dame Et allerent tous les quatre consaulx conseillers greffiers procur̃s et autres officiers de la d. ville a lencontre du roy jusques a la dit porte sainte fontaine c̃hun ung flambeau ardant en la main Et les chefs de la loy et autres notables personnages avec le premier conseillier de la d. ville qui estoient de cheval widerent la dit porte et allerent a lencontre du roy quils trouverent au dit lieu de Maire Auquel par le d. premier conseillier fut fte une notable proposicion Et le jour precedent par son coñandement lui avoient este pn̄tez les clefs de toutes les portes de la dit V. et estoit le Roy accompagne de plusieurs princes et seigneurs de son royaulme dengleterre avec sa garde en grante nombre et plusieurs seign^{rs}. des pays depardechu et tous en avance audevant du roy entrevient en la d. ville Et le Roy estant a la d. porte sainte fontaine fut crye Vive le Roy Et descendirent illecques de leurs chevaulx les dit quatre chiefs de la loy de la d. ville et se mirent a piet Lesquels avec deux autres notables bourgeois de la d. ville porterent en hault au dessus du chief du Roy ung chiel que la ville avoit fait faire de bleu et de rouge velours seme de fleurs de lis et de luppars Et en cest estat sen vint le roy depuis la dit porte sainte fontaine tour du long de la grante rue Saint Jaques par le Saingle sur le Marchie et par la rue nr̃e dame jusques a la grande eglise ou il fist salutacion a dieu et a la glorieuse vierge Marie et dillecqs sen alla a son logis en la maison dun Chanoine noñe maistre Simon Huland Et en amenant le roy par les rues dessusdits furent sonnees toutes les cloches des pauroisches de la d. ville et furent portez a double reng les torses des mestiers de la d. ville Apres alloient par ordonance les d. quatre consaulx conseilliers greffiers procur̃s et autres officiers de la d. ville c̃hun ung flambeau ardant en la main et au devant du roy y avoit plusieurs princes et seign^{rs} a cheval et apres le roy venoit sa garde a piet en grant nombre Et sy estoient la plus part des maisons richement parees de tapisserie linges et autres choses et lapresdisner les dits chiefs de la loy et le conseil de la d. ville allerent devers le roy en son dit logis et a sa p^{r}miere venue lui presenterent de par la dit ville six breucs de vin de beaune lequel pñt il rechut aggreablement Et cy merchia ceulx dicelle ville cõfirma les privileges dicelle et accorda que la d. ville exersast tousjours sa

jurisdiction come par laccord sur ce fait il avoit promis Et quant aux graces que le d. seign^{r}. fist Il eslargy tous prisonniers quil trouva es prisons de la d. ville pour quelque malefice qui fust et aussi les prisons de levesque et de la justice de Maire et sy rendy la d. ville a tous bañis qui le jour de sa dite premiere entree vinrent avec lui en la d. cite et qui dedens tierch jour se pñterent et bailleroient leur requeste tant aux registres pour homicide que aux bañis sans rappel a tousjours a un an a trois ans sons de cloque bans dargent et voyages quels quils fussent et tous delictes non pugnis sans rien excepter saulf et rescout ceulx qui auroient coñis murdre trayson rompu paix treves ou asseurances boutefeux viole ou ravy feme ou femes teust ou compost gens fait route ou assemblee conspiracion ou monopolle ou autres vilains cas sembles Enfraint la quarantaine de long temps acoustumee et observee en la d. ville par laquelle est ordonne que quant aucun debat survient entre aucuns en la d. ville les amis de lune partie ne peuvent assaillir molester ni iniuryer les amis de lautre partie que avant ne soient passez quarante jours et quiconque enfraint cest coustume doit etre justicier a mort ou bañy perpetuelement de la d. ville sil se rend fugitif."

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL LETTER MISSIVE OF QUEEN CATHARINE OF ARRAGON TO THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF TOURNAY, REMAINING AMONG THE ARCHIVES OF THAT CITY.

By the Quene.

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele And Where it hath pleased Almyghty God of his greate grace and infinite goodnes and as we verily trust by the mediation and intercession of that blessed virgyne Marie his moder to send unto us at this tyme goode speede in the delivrance and bringing furthe of a princesse to the greate rejoising and comforte of my lorde us and all his loving soubgietts of this his realme for whiche singler grace we have especiall cause to geve high thanks lawde and praisinge unto o^{r} said maker and so we right hartely doo And forasmoche as we truste that this our goode

spede is to the comforte of you and to all other my lords trewe soubgietts of that his citie advertise you thereof by these o^{r} lr̃es Desiring therfore and praying you to geve w^{t} us unto our said maker laude and praisinge and to praye for the goode helthe and pres^{9}vacion of the said princesse Yeven under o^{r} signet at my lords mano^{r} of Grenewiche the xviijth daye of Ffebruary [1515-16].

To Our Trusty and welbeloved the provoste and his brethren of my lords Citie of Tourney.

XVIII. *Account of the Examination of the Mummy of* PET-MAUT-IOH-MES, *brought from Egypt by the late John Gosset, Esq. and deposited in the Museum in the Island of Jersey. By* T. J. PETTIGREW, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., &c.*

Read 23rd November, 1837.

Saville Row, Nov. 2, 1837.

THERE are few subjects within the range of archæological inquiry which present to us greater interest than that which arises from a consideration of the antiquities of Egypt, and particularly of those points which bear reference to the religion, the ceremonies, and the customs of the ancient Egyptians in connexion with the dissolution of the body, and the modes adopted to arrest the progress of decay. The reasons which induced them to take such extraordinary care in the preservation of the bodies of their deceased is, I believe, to be sought for in their religious opinions; and, it is most probably to be explained, upon their adoption of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. Upon this subject it is not my intention here to enlarge, as I have already treated of it in my "History of Egyptian Mummies." I am anxious, however, upon this occasion, to introduce to the Society an account of the examination of a Mummy, belonging to the Museum in the Island of Jersey, which presents to our notice some peculiarities differing from those which have been hitherto observed in the process of embalming. I owe to our respected member, my friend Sir George Staunton, intelligence of this Mummy, which was brought from Thebes by the late John Gosset, Esq. who travelled in Egypt in 1835 in company with E. Lane, Esq. the author of a most excellent work on Modern Egypt. Mr. Gosset died at Paris returning from his travels; and his entire collection of Egyptian Antiquities, consisting of several articles of great curiosity and interest, has been presented by his

father, Isaac Gosset, Esq. to the Island of Jersey, and has formed the commencement of a Museum, which promises to rise rapidly into distinction. In Mr. Gosset's Journal I find the following entry:

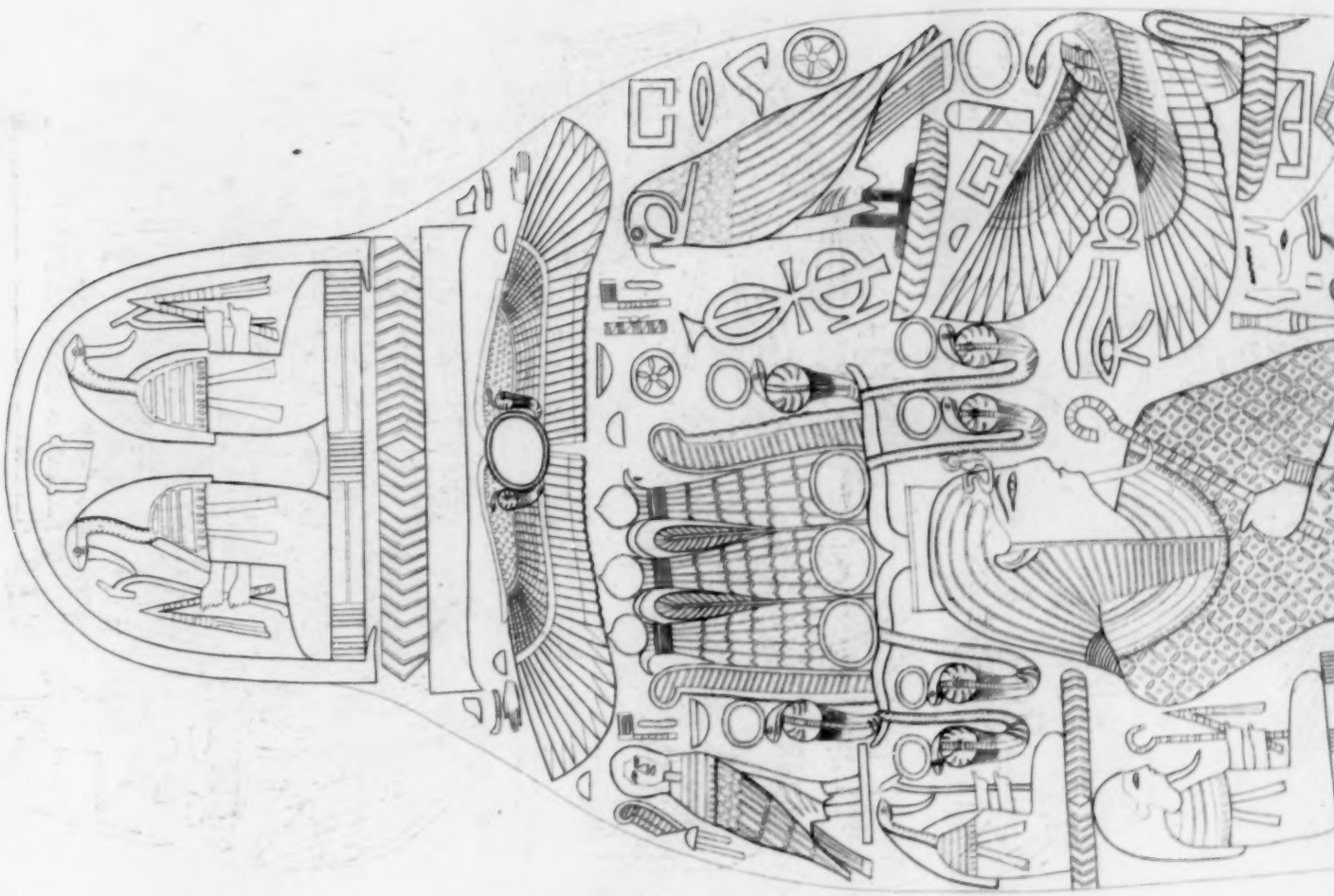
"*Thebes, May* 12, 1835. Several Fellahs, who may be called the resurrection men of Thebes, are in the habit of excavating for antiquities, which they sell to travellers in spite of the Pacha's monopoly and of his excavator, a Turk, who employs twenty or thirty boys constantly, but seldom finds any thing. A gang, composed of five, sent us word that they had found a tomb *untouched*, and said, if we wished to see it, we might come at night with one of their party. Accordingly Mr. Lane and myself went this evening. From the tomb we descended through a narrow, steep, and winding passage, into a small cavern hewn in the rock, into which we groped upon our hands and feet and found three Mummies. It was impossible here to open or examine them. We were covered with dust, and almost stifled going down the pit to the cavern, but delighted to see the manner in which the ancient Egyptians buried their dead. This style of Mummy is very ancient, being of the time of the Pharaohs; it is in two cases, each of which is beautifully painted, the first case not unlike the style of painting and subjects in the tombs, the top representing the ceiling; inside, offerings to Osiris, &c. Priests with leopard-skins, snake, jackal, and hare-headed divinities. A king's name upon a leather bandage, flowers of lotus, a garland, also a wreath round the forehead."

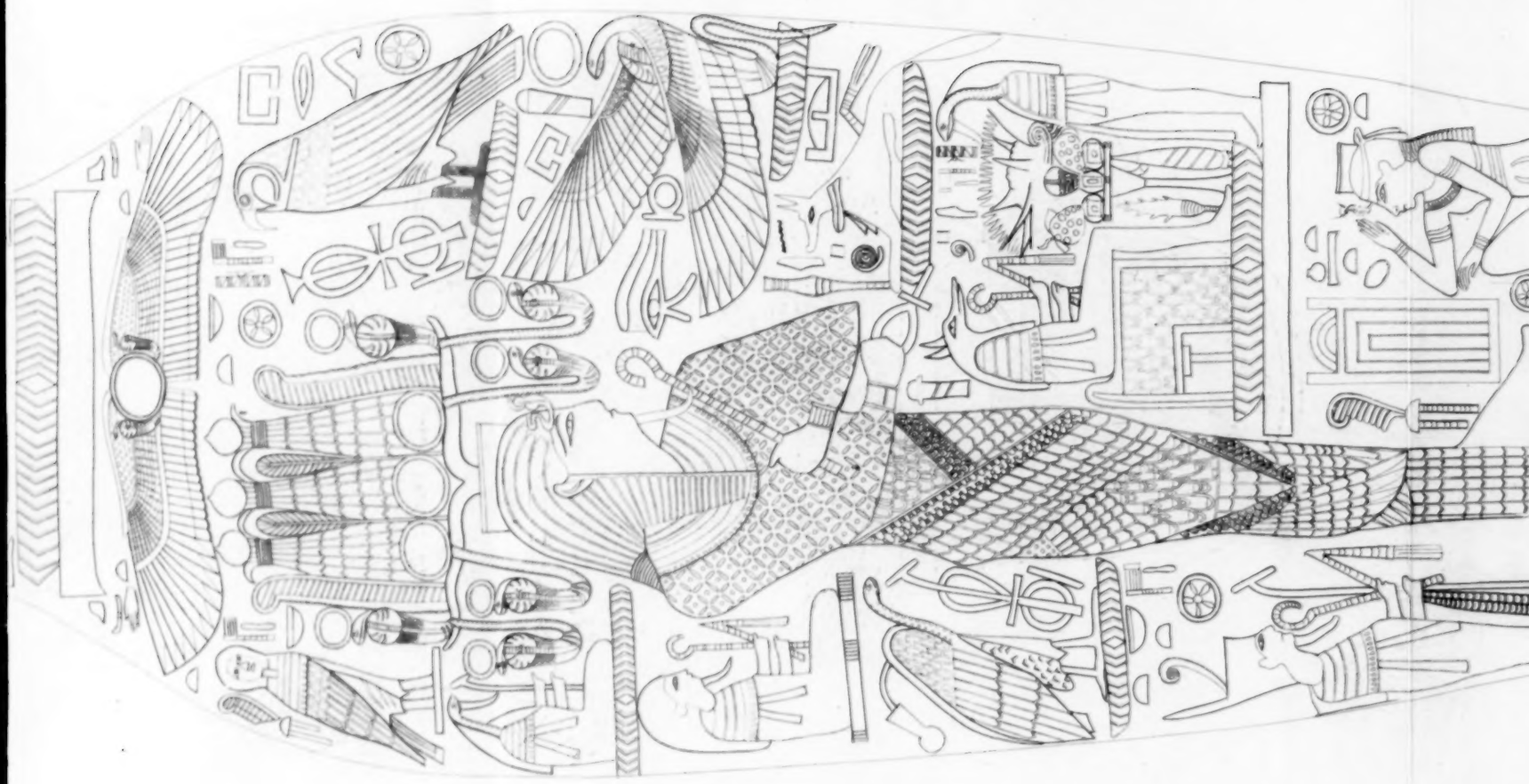
It appears that the Mummy, to the notice of which the present paper must necessarily be confined, was found in one of the western valleys, where Mr. Wilkinson tells us he saw a tomb bearing the name of Amunoph III. the King of the Vocal Statue; and which may fairly be considered as the most ancient catacomb hitherto discovered in those valleys. Colonel Oldfield, through Sir George Staunton, favoured me with a fac-simile of the paintings at the bottom of the inner case of the Jersey Mummy, which I am happy to lay before the Society, (see Pl. XIX.) and in which it will be seen there is a representation of the King Amunoph III. and beneath his figure cartouches, containing, in hieroglyphical characters, his name and distinction. From this circumstance it was not unreasonably conjectured that the Mummy might be that of the sovereign, although it must be remarked that the portrait or figure of the

sovereign is frequently introduced in Egyptian antiquities, serving merely to denote the period to which they belong, and not to have any special reference to an individual. Without an examination, therefore, of the hieroglyphics upon the cases, it was impossible to give an opinion as to the identity of the sovereign and the inclosed Mummy, and for this purpose, and to unroll the Mummy, I was invited to Jersey by my friend J. Hodges, Esq. The result of this examination it is now my intention to detail.

I found the Mummy inclosed, as described by Mr. Gosset, within two cases, highly ornamented and covered with hieroglyphical characters and mythological representations. These were of various colours and in high relief, being depicted upon a composition with which the whole surface of the cases had been coated. The cases were shaped in the human figure, with the lower limbs joined together. The arms were crossed, and the hands had suffered injury from being apparently sawn through, by which the emblems held by them were lost, but traces of their nature were visible on the cases, and showed them to have been the usual accompaniments of Osiris: the hook, or symbol of moderation, and the whip, or symbol of excitation. The face on these cases was painted yellow, and furnished with a long beard, somewhat turned up at the point. Lines of hieroglyphics in various colours ran in different directions along the entire length of the sides of the cases around them and across. They consisted of the customary addresses, and were as follow: 1. Consecrated to Re, lord of the upper and lower world; Atmou, lord of the two regions of the south land of Poni(?); great god, manifested in the solar abode, Osiris, who presides over the land of the West (Ement), lord of Abydus, revealer of good, regulator of lives; Isis, great mother goddess, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods of Ement-Eri (?); ... Nepthys, great sister goddess, regent of the abodes established to all the gods:—That they will give an abode provided with bread, flesh, fowl, utensils, clothes, frankincense, with perfumes (?) all other good things, pure libations, and all other ..... on the tables of lord of the world Ounophris, for the sake of the Osirian lady of the house (*name defaced.*)

2. That they will give abundance of bread, abundance of cordials, abundance of flesh, abundance of fowls, abundance of all other good things, pure, with all other .... with offering.





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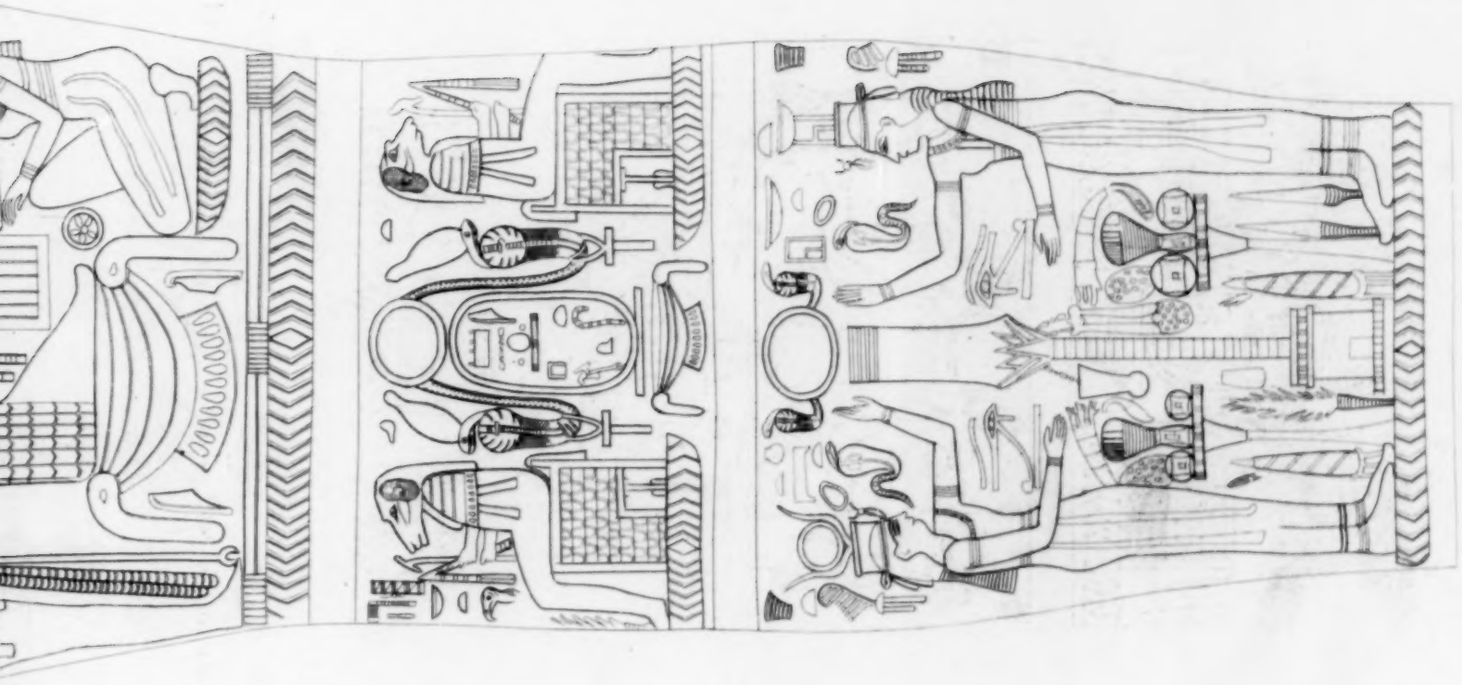


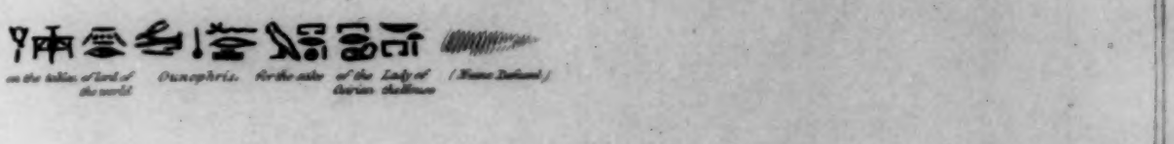
Representation of the bottom of the Inner Case of the Mummy of Pi-mautiohamu.

I.

Consecrated to Re. Lord of the upper & lower world; Amun. Lord of the land of the two regions of the South land of Emi; great God mansion in the Solar abode Osiris, ... who presides over the land of the West (Amenti). Lord of Abydus.

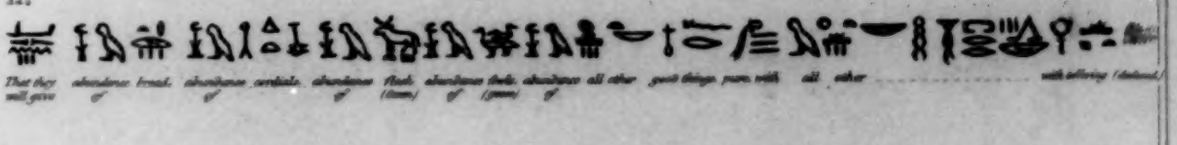
ruler of good, regulator of lives: Isis. great Mother goddess. Mistress of Heaven. Ruler of the Gods of Amenti Evil; ..... Nephys. great Sister Goddess. Regent of the deities who

Nichol to all the Gods: That they on abode will give provided with bread. flesh. fowl. utensils. clothes frankincense with perfumes? all other all good things. pure and all other blessings .....



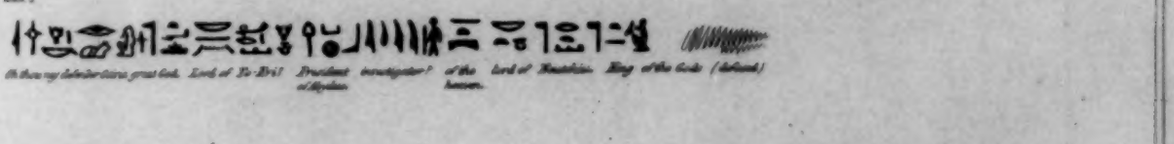
on the tables of Lord of the world Osiris Ophris. for the sake of the Lady of Osiris chalices (Name Deficient)

II.



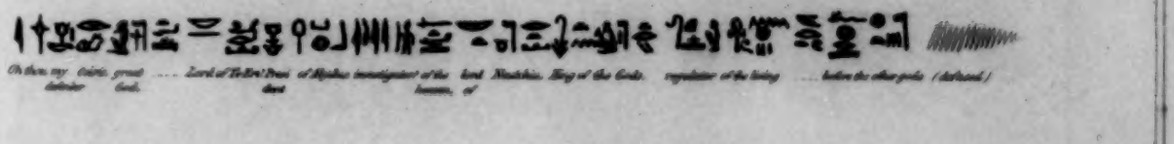
That they will give abundance of bread. abundance of cordials. abundance of flesh. (fowl) abundance of flesh. (game) abundance of all other good things pure with all other ..... with offering (deficient)

III.



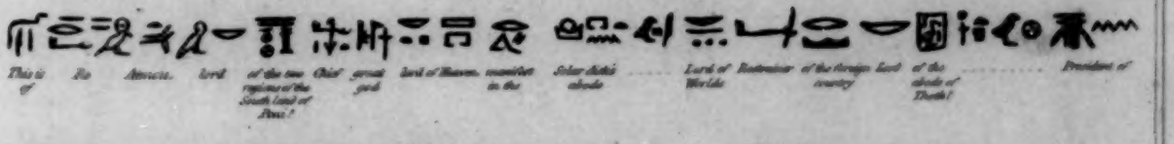
Oh thou my defender Osiris great God. Lord of Te-Bvi! President of Abydus investigator? of the heaven. Lord of Nuubbia. King of the Gods (deficient)

IV.

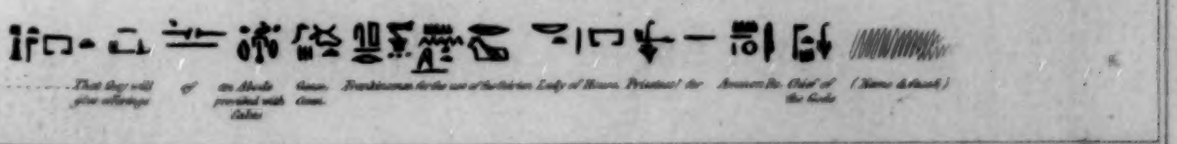


Oh thou my defender Osiris great God. ..... Lord of Te-Bvi! Dwelling of Abydus investigator of the heaven. Lord of Nuubbia. King of the Gods. regulator of the living ..... before the other gods (deficient)

V.



This is of Re Amun. Lord of the two regions of the South land of Emi! Chief great God Lord of Heaven. resident in the Solar Ankhi abode ..... Lord of Worlds Restrainer of the foreign country Lord of the abode of Thoth! ..... President of



..... That they will give offerings of an Abode provided with tables linen. Cloth. Frankincense for the use of the Solar Lady of Heaven. Priestess! the Ancient Re. Chief of the Gods (Name deficient)

Lines of Hieroglyphics on the Cases of the Mummy of Pet-maut-iohmas.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 27th 1820.

3. Oh! thou, my defender, Osiris, great god, lord of To-Eri (?), president of Abydus, investigator (?) of the heaven, lord of Neutchiu (?), king of the gods.

4. Oh! thou, my defender, Osiris, great god, lord of To-Eri (?), president of Abydus, investigator (?) of the heaven, lord of Neutchiu (?), king of the gods, regulator of the living . . . . before the other gods.

5. This is of Re Atmou, lord of the two regions of the south land of Poni (?), chief, great god, lord of heaven, manifest in the solar disk's abode, lord of worlds, restrainer of the Foreign Country, lord of the abode of Thoth . . . . . president of . . . . That they will give offerings of an abode provided with cakes, geese, oxen, frankincense, ... for the Osirian lady of the house, Priestess for Amon-Re, chief of the gods (*name defaced*) (See Plates XIX. XX.)

These examples will suffice; they are offerings to the deities on behalf of the deceased, who in three places is designated as a priestess; and following the hieroglyphics having this signification, and in the place where the name of the individual ordinarily appears, a most careful obliteration has been made. This is clearly the effect of design, not of accident, for the varnish occupying the spaces between each hieroglyphical character that had formed the name was quite perfect, and the characters themselves had been literally *scratched out*. This circumstance tended to destroy the means of identifying the individual embalmed.

I have noticed an apparent anomaly—a yellow face and a beard. The female countenance is, I believe, without an exception always painted yellow or white, and the male red, on all cases and sarcophagi containing mummies. The beard is unquestionably a male symbol. How, then, are we to account for this singular combination? It seems to me that it may be solved thus: the yellow face denotes a female; the beard belongs to the figure of Osiris, who is judge of the dead, and president of that kingdom where the souls of the approved were to be admitted to eternal felicity; and Mr. Wilkinson, of whose acquaintance with the Egyptian mythology it is unnecessary for me to speak, says, that "every Egyptian after death was deified to a certain extent, but no one became a god; they merely bore the name and form of Osiris, a name applied in the same sense to *females*." Men and women were thus both represented after death under the form and name of Osiris, never of Isis, as the late Dr. Young had conjectured. Osiris, Mr. Wilkinson supposes to signify, in his

character of judge, the unity of the deity, and to this unity, or original essence, man returned after death, but man collectively, and no distinction of sex was maintained after the soul had quitted its material envelope. All this seems to confirm the statement given by Herodotus, who, it must be recollected, in his account of the persons employed in embalming, says, "Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὗτοι ἐπεάν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς, δεικνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα. καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι, τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπί τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν."—"There are certain individuals appointed for the purpose (*i. e.* embalming), and who profess that art; these persons, when any body is brought to them, show the bearers some wooden models of corpses, painted to represent the originals; the most perfect they assert to be the representation of him whose name I take it to be impious to mention (*i. e.* Osiris) in this matter."

Now the cases of the Jersey Mummy are in the representation of Osiris, and the beard is, I conceive, thus accounted for, and the Mummy belonging to them may fairly be considered as having been prepared in the very best mode of embalment. A greater difficulty, however, presents itself in the erasure of the hieroglyphics upon the cases; thus preventing all means of identifying the body as appertaining to the individual for whom the cases were made. Before I describe the Mummy, I shall say a few words upon the cases. They are of sycamore wood; and, from the style of painting with which they are ornamented, may fairly be considered as belonging to the time of the sovereign Amunoph III. depicted within them. Amunoph III. was the son of Thothmes IV. and lived two hundred years before the Trojan war. He reigned 1430 B.C. which is twenty-one years after the death of Moses, and sixty-one years posterior to the Exodus of the Israelites; so that the antiquity of the cases is very great. Interiorly and exteriorly they abound with figures of the Egyptian deities: to describe these would demand an entire essay on the Egyptian Mythology; they bear relation chiefly to the deceased, figured as Osiris, and the deities through whose intervention or intercession her admission into the mansions of the blessed was hoped to be obtained. Within the inner case or coffin was a lid placed immediately over the body of the Mummy, representing a female without any beard or Osirian character, and having a line

of hieroglyphics running down the centre, but containing no name. Upon removing this lid, the Mummy in its bandages was brought into view. It measured 5 feet 5 inches. Around the head was a garland composed of acacia and bay leaves, and the leaves and flowers of the lotus; these were strung together with much taste. Over the whole upper surface of the Mummy similar bands of leaves and lotus flowers were distributed, and a long leathern bandage, or fillet, measuring three yards and a half in length, and about one inch in breadth, extended across the shoulders, and was passed across the back and over the breast and body. At the extremities of this leather belt, which was of a red colour on its outer side and yellowish within, there are the remains of some figures which have been stamped upon them; but which time has too much obliterated to be now decyphered. They appear, however, to be the figure of a king having his cartouche over his head, probably containing his name. This was the case with the Mummy of Natsif-Amon, who died during the reign of Ramesses V.; opened a few years since at the Leeds Institution, and specimens of a similar kind are to be seen in the new Egyptian Room at the British Museum.

The outer bandage of the Mummy consisted of a fine linen sheet folded double and laced up at the back with a narrow strip of the usual mummy cloth. Beneath this wrapper were many successive layers of rollers usually not exceeding four or five yards in length. One, however, measured six yards and a quarter, and another twelve yards. They varied in size, some being much broader than others, and several of them were fringed at their extremities, and had borders, principally of a blue or green colour. Having removed upwards of fifty of these rollers, upon which I only found rudely figured, not in ink, but apparently with charcoal, a vase of libation, and a representation of the sacred Eye, I came to a second sheet extending over the whole of the body from the head to the feet. This was covered with a coating of asphaltum, which it was necessary to cut through to arrive at the Mummy, and appeared to form the division of the layers of the bandages. Dividing that part over the breast, I discovered the representation of a large scarabæus in baked earth, having been dipped into some vitrified mixture which gave to it a most brilliant green colour. This measured two inches in length and one inch and a half in breadth. Upon the under surface were six lines of hieroglyphics,

and these give the name of Pet-maut-ioh-mes. (An impression from, and a drawing of, the Scarabæus I herewith transmit. See Pl. XXI. fig. 1.) Immediately beneath the scarabæus was a figure of a hawk (see fig. 2), with extended wings, emblematical of Re, or Phra, the Sun. This measured five inches across the wings, and four inches one-eighth from the head to the extremity of the tail. In the bird's talons are the disks, the emblems of the Sun. This representation was in soft lead, and was thin and quite flexible. A quantity of the metal in a state of oxydation was covering the whole of its surface.

Around the neck, close up to the head, was a necklace composed of nineteen pieces. These were of various kinds, and of different materials: a sceptre in green porcelain, another in blue, an emblem of the soul in blue porcelain, another in a dark-coloured material, and a sacred eye of the same kind; an emblem of stability in green porcelain; two tablets, one of Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury, in basalt, the other of Anubis, the jackal-headed divinity, in jasper; a vase, a small scarabæus in dark-blue porcelain, a blue glass bead, a geometrical form in basalt, four pendants in lapis lazuli and other substances, and an emblem of the soul, another of the sacred eye, and one of the serpent Uræus with the disk in mother of pearl. These were all strung together by thread, and passed round the neck, at the back part of which it was secured by a thick bundle of threads tied in a knot. Beneath the necklace was a bandage forming a kind of cravat, having at its extremity a profusion of fringe, and fastened by a knot. Upon the removal of this the throat was found to have been divided across, and in the space thus occasioned a quantity of earthy matter was found. The face was now examined, and it presented that of a male, having a short beard on the chin and upper lip, of a reddish brown colour, which was probably occasioned by the materials used in the embalming.

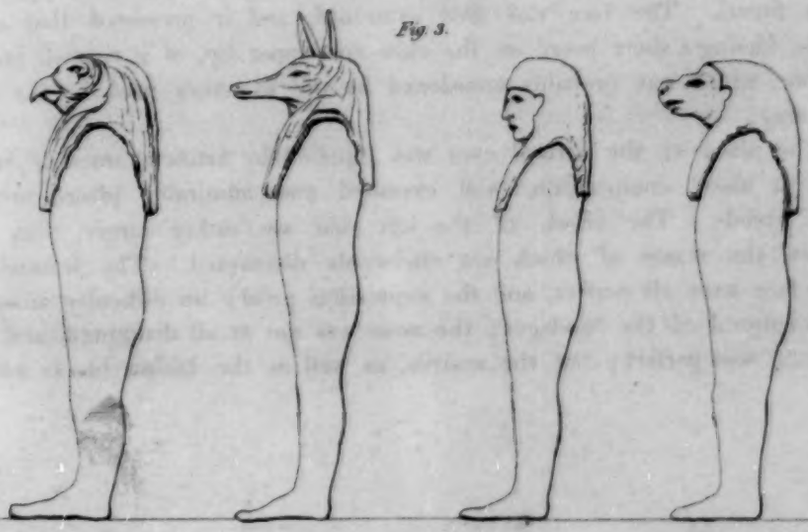
The place of the natural eyes was supplied by artificial ones of ivory and a black composition, well executed and admirably placed within the eyelids. The cheek of the left side was rather larger than the other, the reason of which was afterwards discovered. The features of the face were all perfect, and the expression good; no difficulty arose in the removal of the bandages; the nose was not at all disfigured, and the septum was perfect; but the nostrils, as well as the hollow places within

Emblem of Phra & the Scarabæus, found upon the Breast of the Mummy of Pet-maut-iohmas.

Fig 2.

Fig 1.

Fig 3.



Kebhsnouf. *Smouf.* *Amset.* *Hapée.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 15th 1820.

the ears, were filled up with earthy matter like to that which was found in the throat.

The hinder part of the skull having been removed, to observe the method that had been adopted with regard to the extraction of the brain, a variety presented itself, of which I know no instance on record, nor can I hear from any of my friends who have visited Egypt, or are familiar with these subjects, of any thing like the mode which had been employed in this individual embalment. The dura mater, or lining membrane, was perfect in all its processes, quite dry and semi-transparent, and it was necessary to cut through this before the contents of the head could be examined, which were found to consist of earthy matter having a few portions of linen cloth holding some spicy substance.[a] The brain had been entirely removed; but not in the usual way, for the ethmoid bone was perfect, and for a long time I was not able to observe any opening through which it had been extracted, and the earthy matter introduced. By a close examination of the incision in the throat, however, I found that some cutting instrument must have been carried up along the anterior surfaces of the bodies of the cervical vertebræ, and thence carried through what anatomists call the *foramen lacerum in basi cranii* on the left side of the head, by which operation the foramen had been somewhat enlarged, and through which this part of the process of embalming appears in this case, unlike to all others I have seen or read of, to have been effected. The difficulty in passing the earthy matter had occasioned the apparent swelling of the left cheek; the larynx and bone of the tongue had been pushed towards the right side.

The body was now the subject of examination; it was easily brought into view, the rollers coming away with the greatest facility. The incision in the left flank, four inches in length, had been practised agreeably to the account of Herodotus and other writers, and over this incision was placed a square portion

[a] Upon analysis of this substance 100 parts were found to consist of:

Ligneous dust, containing a little aromatic extractive matter, soluble in water	42
Carbonate of lime, with some alumina, and oxide of iron	43
Silica	15
	100

of lead four inches in length and three inches and one-eighth in breadth, and impressed upon it was a representation of the sacred eye. This being removed, the body was found to be filled with the dust of woods having an aromatic odour, and the viscera were folded up in four several portions, in each of which the representation of a deity four inches and one-eighth in length, and one inch and one-eighth in breadth, was contained. These were made of earth, and covered with wax, similar to some I have in my possession, which were taken from a Greek Mummy, and said by Signor Passalacqua to be peculiar to the embalming of that period. I had, previously to this examination, ventured to suggest that the deities represented upon the four Canopic vases frequently discovered alongside the Mummies, and reported to contain the viscera, would be found to be specially appropriated to particular parts. Neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus give any information as to what is done with the viscera after their extraction from the body. Porphyry has handed down to us a prayer, said to have been uttered by the embalmers in the name of the deceased, entreating the divine powers to receive the soul into the region of the good, and casting into the river Nile the organs which he supposes may have offended the gods and done injury to the soul, by eating or drinking unworthily. This account receives something like confirmation from Plutarch; but it cannot be admitted to be even probable, for it is inconsistent with all that has been observed in the preparation of the Mummies, in which the chief object of the Egyptians appears uniformly to have been to preserve every part of the body, and in as entire a state as possible, upon the success of which we may presume the likelihood of its being re-occupied by its former spirit, or soul, would be promoted. We have so little precise information as to the Mummies furnished with Canopic vases, and the latter have ever been so much sought after and so eagerly removed, that it is impossible to say whether they contained the embalmed viscera of the body, by the side of which they have been placed, or not; they have often been found to hold the viscera, and there is therefore reasonable grounds for presuming that to be the case. I have in some instances found the viscera embalmed and placed among the bandages; it was the case in the Mummy of Kannop, at University College. They were within the body in the greater number of Mummies I have unrolled, and always in four portions. This would seem to correspond with the arrangement of the four Ca-

nopic vases, and it is remarkable that in the Jersey Mummy each of the four portions had inclosed within it one of the deities represented on these vases. They are the genii of the Amenti, or Amunti, which in Coptic exactly corresponds with Hades in Greek. It signifies both the *receiver* and *giver*. Mr. Wilkinson, therefore, says it was a temporary abode, and it will be remarked that this agrees with the idea of the Egyptians returning again to the earth, after a stated period. They may be arranged thus:

1. Kebhnsnof or Netsonof, with the hawk's head.
2. Smof, or Smautf, with the jackal's head.
3. Hapée, with the head of the cynocephalus.
4. Amset, with the human head. (See fig. 3, Pl. XXI.)

The portion of bandage in which Kebhnsnof[b] was found contained the liver and gall bladder; that with Smof, the lungs and heart; that with Hapée held the small intestines; and that with Amset the stomach and large intestines. The kidneys, with their ureters entire, were loose among the wood dust, and had no bandage whatever. The Egyptians divided the human body into thirty-six parts, each of which they believed to be under the particular government of one of the decans or aërial demons, who presided over the triple divisions of the twelve signs; and Origen says, that when any part of the body was diseased, a cure was obtained by invoking the demon to whose province it belonged. A kind of theological anatomy has thus been made out by the late M. Champollion from the Great Funereal Ritual, or Book of the Manifestations. This is expressed on various Mummy cases in hieroglyphical characters; and may we not in this trace the first attempt to assign the different parts of the human body to the several planets, which has been continued down to the present day in the favoured and favourite astrological almanack of "Francis Moore, Physician"?[c]

[b] Snof signifies "blood."

[c] Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, whose attainments in hieroglyphical literature are by no means inconsiderable, and whose zeal in the research is correspondent to his ability, has kindly shown me an ancient sycamore case, shaped in the human form, upon which several of the parts of the body are appropriated to particular deities:—these in a great measure accord with what has been drawn by Champollion from the Papyrus MSS. The subject is deserving of further investigation.

To return to the Mummy: The limbs were separately bandaged; but the rollers were not applied to each finger or toe separately, the whole of the hand or foot was inclosed within the bandage. The nails were altogether perfect, long, and of a filberd shape. They were stained of a dark colour. The whole body was greatly emaciated, and the lungs carried evidences of a tuberculated condition, so that it is extremely probable the individual died of phthisis. From the appearance of the diplöe of the skull, the teeth, &c. it would appear to be a person of about the middle period of life.

The erasure of the hieroglyphics composing the name of the individual upon the cases was performed at a time when that language was generally understood—it must have been done by the Egyptians. The priests, there is little reason to question, made a traffic of the tombs. Mr. Wilkinson found the tomb of Ramesses VII. had undergone many changes; the stucco, on which its present representations are figured, is placed over sculptures of a much earlier period, and he has suggested the probability that, when a family became extinct, so that no one remained to pay the customary claims for the liturgies and other services by which the revenue of the priests was maintained, the tomb was re-sold to another occupant to indemnify them; and this exchange does not appear to have been confined to the walls of the tomb, but extended even to the sarcophagi and wooden coffins contained within them, for the name of the first inmate has been found to be obliterated, and a second substituted in its place. The names on the walls are constantly found to be erased, and the spaces for names often left in a blank condition, the sale of the building not having been yet effected. I thought I could observe in one part of the outer case of the Jersey Mummy something like an attempt to figure some hieroglyphical letters over the place where the name was formerly introduced; the hieroglyphics were of a different character, they were written in plain red upon a white ground, whilst the original in the same line of inscription had colours invariably intermixed with them. The new hieroglyphics were, however, not sufficiently distinct to be decyphered. It appears, therefore, that some circumstances, of the nature of which, at this distant period, it is difficult to offer any probable conjecture, had occurred to occasion the obliteration of the name of a priestess of great rank in the early times of Amunoph III. and placed within her case or coffin, is the Mummy of PET-MAUT-IOH-MES, "man, deceased," as the hiero-

glyphics on the scarabæus taken from his breast demonstrates. The period at which this exchange took place it is not easy to determine; but, judging from the mode of embalment, I should be very much disposed to place it in the Greek period, probably in the time of the Ptolemies, for (excepting the process adopted in the extraction of the brain, and the substitution of earthy matter within the skull, which I observed before, and of which there is no record whatever to be found,) the mode of its embalment corresponds to those in which the names have been decidedly of a Greek character, and upon the cases of which various circumstances would seem to connect the Mummy with that people.

FURTHER EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

This Plate represents the painting at the bottom of the inner coffin: at the upper part are two figures of the snake-headed god, the guardian of the Gates of Amenti. Beneath these a figure typical of the heavens, followed by the winged snake and disk denoting Hor-Hat, or Agathodæmon. Succeeding these, above and on the sides of the large centre figure, are, on the right, a winged animal with a human face, which is not represented in profile, as ordinarily occurs, and around this figure hieroglyphics, the purport of which is, "The great God, Lord of the West;" on the opposite side the hawk, as Horus. On the right, beneath the winged animal with the human face, is another snake-headed god, and opposite to it a different kind of snake-headed deity, furnished with large wings, having a disk over its head, and representing probably Eilethya or Lucina. At the right shoulder of the large figure is a deity having emblems of Osiris, and beneath this is an unusual representation of a vulture furnished with an asp's head, being one of the deities of Amenti. Opposite to these figures are representations of Anubis as a jackal, and Anubis seated holding Osirian emblems, and before him stands the snake-headed deity beside a table furnished with offerings. At the lower part of the large figure, on the left, is a deity of Amenti, with a helmet of Lower Egypt, and holding Osirian emblems; and at the feet of the figure, in a kneeling position, is placed the deity Netpe. The large figure in the centre appears to be the representation of a king deified, or under the form of Osiris. It is furnished with a royal head-dress, and has the beard of a deity pointed and turned up at the extremity; not square at the end, as is the case in the beards of sovereigns. This seems to be the King Amunoph under the form and figure of Osiris. Beneath the pedestal on which he stands, and in what may be called the third compartment of the picture, is a cartouche, bearing in hieroglyphics the name of Amunoph; and on each side of this is a figure of Hapee, one of the four genii of the Amenti. The lower division of the representation gives Netpe, the mother of the gods, on the right, and Nephthys, the sister goddess, on the left; each furnished with tables of offerings of fruits, cakes, and wine.

XIX. *On the Measures taken for the Apprehension of Sir Thomas de Gournay, one of the Murderers of King Edward the Second, and on their final Issue: in a Letter to* Hudson Gurney, *Esq. F.R.S., V.P. from the Rev.* Joseph Hunter, *F.S.A.*

Read 7th December, 1837.

Torrington Square, November 20, 1837.

Dear Sir,

AMONG the ancient compotuses in the Exchequer which have been lately brought to light by the exertions of the Honourable Board of Commissioners on the Public Records, are several which relate to the measures taken by King Edward the Third to bring to justice Sir Thomas de Gournay, the principal actor, as was alleged, in the murder of his father in Berkeley Castle: and as they place the circumstances of his capture, and his ultimate fate, in a light entirely different from that in which they are placed by the old Chroniclers De la Moor and Walsingham, and by modern historians, who, in addition to the Chronicles, have had the benefit of the letters relating to this affair which are printed in the Fœdera, it has occurred to me, that it might be acceptable to the Society of Antiquaries if I were to lay a summary of the contents of these documents before it.

It appears by the Pleas of the Crown before the King in his full Parliament at Westminster, held on the Monday next after the feast of Saint Catharine the Virgin, in the 4th Edward III. (1330), when Sir Thomas de Berkeley was called to answer touching the death of the late deposed King, that the King had been committed to the keeping of himself and John Maltravers, in whose custody he was at the time of his death. Sir Thomas de Berkeley defends himself from the charge of any participation in the murder, alleging, that at the time of the King's death he was lying ill at Bradley, and was so extremely ill

that his life was despaired of: but he admits that he placed as keepers of the King, and as ministers under him, the two persons, namely Thomas de Gournay and William de Ocle, who had been adjudged in Parliament to be guilty of the murder of the King, and on that account Berkeley is not released, but committed to Ralph de Nevil, the Steward of the King's household. (*Rolls*, ii. 57.)

In the same Parliament judgment was passed on Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, "et autre de sa covyne," namely, Simon de Bereford, John Maltravers, Bogo de Bayous, John Deveroil, Thomas de Gournay, and William de Ocle. Mortimer and Bereford were in custody, and both adjudged to death. The former was executed on November 29, in the 4th of Edward III. (1330), and Bereford on the Monday next after the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle following.[a] The rest were also adjudged to death; but not being in custody, rewards were offered for their apprehension. Only Gournay and Ocle are expressly charged with the murder of the King. The rest, even including Maltravers, are considered as convict of other treasons and felonies. The reward offered for the apprehension of Gournay was 100*l.* if brought alive, and 100 marks if brought dead. For Ocle the reward proposed was 100 marks if brought alive, and 40*l.* if dead.[b]

So far from the printed Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 52-54. It is at this point that I propose to take up the thread of the life, and adventures (so I

[a] Bereford had made preparation for a flight, by depositing a treasure valued at no less a sum than 2000*l.* in the care of Andrew de la Done, Prior of Takkeley, and Nicholas the valet of the said Prior, at the Prior's house in Silver Street, in the ward of Cripplegate. It consisted in vessels of gold and silver, in sterling money to the amount of 700*l.* and in florins valued at 268*l.* sterling. They were brought soon after the arrest of Mortimer and Bereford and the committal of them to the Tower, by one Richard, clerk to Simon de Bereford, whose surname (cognomen) says the record is unknown, to be kept for Bereford's use, to be carried beyond sea, or elsewhere at his pleasure, if he escaped or were delivered out of prison. It was seized by the King.

[b] Gournay is throughout considered as the principal malefactor, or at least the person of highest rank concerned in the deed. There is much to be found concerning him in Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, vol i. and ii.; in the Rolls of Parliament; and in the Fœdera. He had been of the party of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, on whose defeat and death his lands were forfeited, but restored in 1 Edward III. *Fœdera*, 689 and 690. The chief of his lands lay in the county of Somerset.

may call them) of Sir Thomas de Gournay, having first shewn what the ancient chroniclers and the modern historians have related concerning him.

The only contemporary chronicler who has given any account of the subsequent fate of Gournay is Sir Thomas de la Moor. His account is plain and consistent, containing facts, about which it would appear that there could hardly be any dispute, and surmises, which the known circumstances of the case render sufficiently probable. "Proditorios ministros, scilicet Thomam de Gorney et Johannem de Maltravers, persecutio Isabellæ et Episcopi Herefordensis (ut proinde viderentur manus innoxias et mentes habuisse) utlegavit, et in exilium egit. Thomas de Gorney Massiliam fugitivus clanculo post triennium cognitus, captus, et versus Angliam reductus, pœnam pro demeritis recepturus, in mari fuit decapitatus, ne fortè magistros et magnos prælatos, et quam plures alios de regno sibi suum nefas monuisse, et in illud sibi assensum præbuisse accusasset. Alter vero Maltravers partibus Teutonicorum agens pœnitentiam, diu latuit." p. 603.

Walsingham has merely copied De la Moor: "Dominus Johannes Maltravers et Thomas Gorney timentes pœnas solvere pro morte regis, repente fugerunt. Sed dictus Thomas fuit post tres annos notus et captus apud Marciliam, et remissus versus Angliam, pœnam pro demeritis recepturus; qui tamen illuc non pervenit, sed in mari decapitatus fuit, et sub quodam colore ne forte magnas personas et magnos prælatos Angliæ de consensu necis regiæ et conniventia accusaret." p. 128.

I have not found that any other Latin chronicler has added any thing to the statement of these two writers, who are indeed the chief and almost only authorities for the events of the reign of Edward the Second. Chroniclers since the invention of printing have done little more than translate what they found in De la Moor and Walsingham. Thus Barnes, the latest of those who lived before the publication of the Fœdera, says: "Sir Thomas Gournay, three years after, being taken at Marseilles, in France, and delivered up to be brought over for England, in order to his trial, was beheaded on the sea, before he came hither, by private instructions, as was thought, from some grandees at court, whose interest it was that he should not be brought to examination." p. 23.

The publication in the reign of Queen Anne, of even that small selection from the national records, which is known by the name of Rymer's Fœdera, forms an important era in English Historiography. Several documents relat-

ing to the pursuit of Gournay were printed in that collection, taken from the Chancery Rolls at the Tower. What effect they had on the history of this affair may be seen by the two following quotations from Rapin and Carte: The former says, "Three years after, Gurney was seized at Burgos (it is no longer Marseilles), and by order of the King of Castile carried to Bayonne, from whence Edward commanded him to be conveyed to England. But by some practices, not fully cleared in history, he was beheaded at sea." i. 408. Carte's account is this: He was "seized in A. D. 1331 at Burgos, in Castille, and delivered to the Seneschal of Guienne, or Mayor of Bayonne, and put on ship-board to be brought to England; but was beheaded at sea on some pretence or other, lest he should discover certain prelates and nobles that were consenting to the King's murder."

The authority of De la Moor and Walsingham, whose information in this particular we shall see to be entirely undeserving of credit, has influenced later historians down to our own time. Mr. Turner yields himself so implicitly to them, that he has entirely overlooked the testimony borne by the few fragments of record evidence printed in the Fœdera. He says that Gournay "was taken at Marseilles, and beheaded on his way to England, that he might not impeach his employers." ii. 157. Dr. Lingard, like Rapin and Carte, has endeavoured to combine the facts of both in a consistent narrative: "What became of Ogle I know not. Gournay fled into Spain, and was apprehended by the magistrates of Burgos. At the request of the King of England he was examined by them in the presence of an English envoy. What disclosures he made were kept secret: but we may suppose that they implicated persons of high rank, as the messengers who had him in charge, received orders to behead him at sea, on his way to England." ii. 552. It is perhaps not matter of surprise, though it may be of regret, that the Fœdera does contain a document on another subject indeed, but containing a clause relating to Gournay, which has not been allowed its due weight even by Dr. Lingard, and which is in fact inconsistent with the account which he has given of this transaction. It is found, II. ii. 870; but I shall have occasion to advert to it hereafter. Vast and beneficial as hath been the influence of the Fœdera on our national history, it is so truly a work of mere fragments, that the most careful historians must be constantly under the temptation to overlook or to suspect evidence which it

presents to them, where is a seeming inconsistency with other evidence in the same work, arising from the want of some connecting link which the chain of evidence has lost.

While I make these remarks, it is with the feeling that other evidence may still be discovered which may add other particulars to those which the evidence before me enables me now to exhibit.

The particulars of the capture and death of Gournay, as the evidence now stands, are these:

On December 3rd, 4th Edward III. (1330), four days after the execution of Mortimer, and above three years after the death of King Edward II., writs were issued to the Sheriffs of counties, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs of certain ports, commanding them to arrest any of the following persons, who were accused of certain crimes, and who, it was supposed, were about to leave the realm, namely, John Maltravers, Thomas de Gournay, John Wyard, William de Exon, late Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, John Deveroill, and William de Ocle. (*Fœd.* ii. 801.)

And on December 15th writs tested at Westminster on that day, not in the Fœdera, were issued to the Sheriffs, commanding them to take into their hands the manors, lands, tenements, goods and chattels of John Maltravers, Thomas de Gournay, Bogo de Baiocis, John Deverel, and William de Ocle, adherents of Roger Mortimer, the enemy of the late King and the realm, who having committed divers felonies and excesses against the peace of the King and kingdom, had clandestinely withdrawn themselves, and not appeared to be judged according to the customs of the realm.

Also on the 23rd of April, in the 5th Edward III. (1331), a writ, not printed, was addressed to John de Staunford and Thomas de Gargrave, commanding them to examine the contents of a chest and certain casks which Gournay, when he was Constable of the Castle of Bristol, had sent to the neighbouring abbey of Keynsham, there to be safely kept for him: and, on May 17 following, another writ issued to William de Bath, clerk, commanding him to open the chest, and to sell the contents of it and of the casks in the presence of the Mayor of Bristol.

About this time the King received information of the country to which Gournay had withdrawn himself, and at the same time that he was in custody

there. In the Liberate Rolls is a writ dated June 23, in 5th Edward III. (1331), addressed to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, directing the payment of 50*l.* to one Ferandus Ivaynes de Greynoun, for his expenses in coming from Spain and returning thither, he having brought information of the capture of Sir Thomas de Gournay: and on the Gascon Rolls is another writ, dated on the same day, addressed to the Constable of Bourdeaux, directing the payment of 300*l.* to John Martin de Leyna, for his great expense and labour in the capture of Thomas de Gournay, our enemy and traitor, in Spain, and in his detention there, which 300*l.* were to be paid to him on the delivery of his captive at Bayonne. Both these writs are in the Fœdera, p. 820 and 821.

This intelligence had been received before the 20th day of May; for on that day the King addressed a letter, which is also in the Fœdera, to Alphonso King of Castille, informing him that he has received information from various persons, that Sir Thomas de Gournay, who is accused of the death of the late King, and has fled from judgment, had been arrested at Burgos, within his dominions, and is now detained in prison under his authority: he gives him thanks for so acceptable a service, and asks that the King would cause Gournay to be delivered to John de Haustede, his Seneschal of Gascony, or to persons deputed by him, in order that he might be brought to England. On the same day the King wrote to the Mayor, Eschevins, Consuls, and community of the city of Burgos, reciting the same facts, and praying them to deliver up Gournay to John de Haustede, or his deputies. (*Fœd.* 819.)

Eight days after the King wrote a second letter to the King of Castille, and also to the authorities of Burgos, repeating his request that Gournay might be delivered to the Seneschal of Gascony, but also requesting that he might be examined touching the charges, by the authorities of Burgos, or persons deputed by them, in the presence of Bernard Pelegrym his serjeant-at-arms, who was sent for that purpose, and who was no doubt the bearer of these letters. Whatever confession the prisoner might make, and whoever they might be whom he might implicate, he requests that a faithful report may be made of it under the common seal of the city, and delivered to his said serjeant. (*Fœd.* 820.)

And on the same 28th of May the King wrote to Sir John de Leynham, the Chamberlain of the King of Spain, intimating that he had heard of Gour-

nay's arrest by him, and of his being detained in prison, and requesting that he would cause him to be taken to Bayonne, there to be delivered to the Mayor, Jurates, and probi homines of the city, who would receive instructions from Egidius de Ispannia, whom he calls "dilectus valettus noster," concerning the bringing him to England. (*Fœd.* 820.) This John de Leynham seems to be the same person in whose favour the warrant for the payment of 300*l.* was issued, although the designation of him on the Close Rolls differs from that on the Liberate Rolls. The King wrote at the same time to the Mayor, &c. of Bayonne concerning the receipt of the prisoner.

No information has been obtained respecting the journey of Bernard Pelegrym, nor have any confessions, if made, of the prisoner been preserved. Pelegrym's duties seem to have been confined to the confession; but to Egidius de Ispannia was committed the duty of gaining possession of the prisoner, and conveying him to England. On the 30th of May, by another writ, also in the Fœdera, 820, addressed to all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Ministers, masters of vessels, mariners, and other faithful, as well within liberties as without, they are commanded to render every assistance to the said Egidius who is sent to bring to England Thomas de Gournay. And on the 8th of June following, Edward addressed the King of Navarre, whose name is lost on the roll, but who must have been Philip the Third, entreating that he would give safe conduct to the persons who might pass through his dominions taking Gournay to the city of Bayonne. (*Fœd.* 820.)

Egidius set out on this service from Saint Edmundsbury, where the King then was, on May 31st, 1331; and on his return he delivered into the Exchequer an account of the expenses of his journey, in which are several important particulars.

He did not leave England till the 11th of June, on which day he crossed to Whitsand. In four days he reached Paris, where he was detained four days more, waiting for a letter from the King to the King of Spain. He was ten days in going to Bourdeaux, and there he remained seven days. When he left Bourdeaux his first object was to obtain an interview with the King of Navarre. After many days' search he found him at Tudela, and remaining a short time with him proceeded to Burgos. He gives no account of any thing which passed at Burgos: but it is quite clear that Gournay was not delivered

up; for the next item in the account relates to his proceeding from Burgos to "Bitoria" (Vittoria) with the King's letter to "John Martyn de Lene" for the delivery of the body of Gournay, from whence he returned to Burgos. It now becomes quite evident from these accounts, that the authorities in Spain were by no means willing to comply with the request of the King of England, though so urgently made, and in a case in which it might be supposed that all the sovereigns of Europe would have been interested, to say nothing of the natural feeling of horror at a crime so peculiarly atrocious. Egidius had to seek the King of Spain. Through bad information he went first to Valla de Leet (Valladolid), expecting to find the King there, but being in this disappointed he proceeded to Madrich (Madrid), where the King then was. He remained at Madrid not less than thirty days. When the King removed to Avilla, Egidius accompanied him. Not less than fifteen days were spent there; and the King going to Segovia, Egidius went also, and was there not less than another thirty days. All this time he was amused with expectation of the coming of John Martyn, and this expectation continued while he followed the court to Coylla (Cuella), where he spent thirteen days, and to Valladolid, where he was twenty days.

In this manner the whole winter was spent, Gournay still lying in prison at Burgos.

At length the King must have consented to deliver the prisoner to him, or Egidius must have so understood him; for we next find him proceeding from Valladolid to Bourdeaux, for the purpose of obtaining the three hundred pounds which were to be paid for the delivery of Gournay. The money was to be paid at Pampeluna. Two and twenty days were consumed in this expedition; but on his return to Spain, he discovered that the prisoner had found means of making his escape.

Egidius seems to have transmitted intelligence to England that the prisoner was in his hands before he was actually in possession, for in no other way can we account for a document printed in the Fœdera, 832, from the Gascon Rolls, which is a letter addressed to the Mayor, Jurates, and probi homines of Bayonne, dated February 13, and there placed in the 6th of the King (1332), commanding them to deliver the body of Gournay, then in prison in their city, to Peter Bernard de Pynsole, to be by him brought to England.

The attention of Egidius was now turned to the pursuit and recovery of the fugitive. He went into Arragon, and spent nearly a month in a fruitless search, after which he proceeded to Burgos, to inqure into the manner in which the escape had been effected. He there found that, though the principal criminal had escaped, his valet remained behind, and was still in prison in that city. This was John Tilly. Nearly a month was spent in endeavours to obtain possession of Tilly. In this he succeeded; and we next find him traversing Navarre, with Tilly in his custody, on his way into Gascony. At the town of Olyt he met, by chance as it appears, with another of the minor actors in this affair, namely Robert Lynel, on whom he seizes. He deposited both at Castrum Stellæ (Estella?); and he then set himself a second time to endeavour the recovery of Gournay. Another month is devoted to this search; but having no success, he deposits Tilly in the Castrum Mallionis, in Gascony, and returns by sea to England. He landed at Dover on the 17th of June 1332, having been absent on this service 372 days.

Such is the remarkable history of this mission, as it is to be gathered from the items of an account containing his claims on the Exchequer, which are very moderate, amounting to no more than 44*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* The part respecting Tilly and Lynel might be illustrated from documents in the Fœdera; but of these I shall notice only one. Tilly we have seen was carried forward into Gascony, while Lynel remained in Navarre. There is in the Fœdera a letter from the Close Rolls, dated June 25, 6th Edward III. (1332), addressed to Philip King of Navarre, desiring him to deliver the said Lynel, whom Egidius de Ispannia had arrested in his dominions, and who was then in the custody of Henry Lord of Soilly, to the person who is the bearer of the letter.

Egidius appears to have lost no credit by the ill success of his mission. Immediately on his return to England, he was employed in the pursuit of other persons who had been concerned in the death of King Edward. The writ, commanding all Sheriffs and others to assist him in this second commission, dated July 1, 6th Edward III. (1332), is in the Fœdera, 840; and, corresponding with it, is an account in the Exchequer of what was done by him. As this does not relate to Gournay, of whose place of retreat we shall hear immediately, I shall be brief in my notices of it, but it contains some facts too intimately connected with this subject, and too much unknown, to be passed over, so convenient an opportunity of noticing them being presented.

On July 25 he took at Rochester William de Kingsclere, accused of the King's death, whom he delivered to Ralph de Cromwell, Constable of the Tower of London. On September 8 he took Sir Richard de Well, accused of the same crime, at Weston, near Northampton, and brought him to London, but he was afterwards committed to William de Elland, Constable of the Castle of Nottingham. On January 31st he took John le Spicer, under the same charge, at London, and delivered him to John Hamont, one of the Sheriffs. On the 9th of February he went abroad. He travelled in various parts of France in search of fugitives, from whence he crossed into Spain, and made a second arrest of John Tilly at Burgos on June 10. On August 20, he delivered him to Raymund de Meyncent, Constable of Castrum Mallionis, in Gascony. It would seem that he had been released, or had made his escape.

King Edward the Third was not to be diverted from his purpose of gaining possession of Gournay, by the lucky escape which the prisoner had effected, when just on the point of being delivered up. We have nothing to show by what channel information was communicated to him of the place to which Gournay had withdrawn himself. But as early as the 16th of January 1333, he had learned that the fugitive was at Naples, and that there he had been arrested at the suit of William de Cornwall, who was probably an emissary of the King's sent in pursuit of him. On that day the King being at York, delivered instructions to a knight of that county, Sir William de Thweng, to proceed to Naples, and to bring Gournay to England. We have no writs, letters of credence, or other documents relating to this expedition in the Fœdera, and only one allusion to it, which will be noticed hereafter: but we need no better evidence than the account which Thweng rendered of the expenses of his mission, a document of which the following is the title:

"Particulæ Compoti Willielmi de Tweng militis, euntis in obsequium Regis ad partes Seciliæ pro quibusdem negociis Regis in curia Domini Roberti Regis Seciliæ de Naples expediendis mense Januarii anno VII. Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu, per breve Regis: videlicet ad querendum et in Angliam ducendum Thomam de Gournai militem rectatum de morte Regis Edwardi patris Regis nunc, attachiatum ad sectam cujusdem Willielmi de Cornewayl apud Naples in curia Roberti Regis Seciliæ."

Thweng proceeded to Nice, from whence he crossed by sea to the port of

Pisa, where he hired horses, which took him to Pisa, and he proceeded by the same mode of travelling to Naples. Here the first items in the account are for the purchase of certain armour: next of a silver cup which was presented to Sir John de la Hay, the Seneschal of the King of Sicily. This cost twenty-five florins, equal to 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling. He presented seven florins to the porter and chamberlain of the King and Queen of Sicily. The next items show that Gournay was in his hands: "Item, pro indumentis ad usum domini Thomæ Gournay VI flor." then for linen and shoes bought for him, and finally, "pro lecto habendo ad usum ejusdem Thomæ in carcere." He then charges for things bought for the use of William de Cornwall, and for presents to the servants of John de la Haye, and to the valets of the King's Admiral.

He freighted a ship at Naples for the port of Agmort (Aigues-mortes) which cost him 400 florins. Aigues-mortes is an obscure, and now greatly decayed, port in Languedoc, not far from Montpellier. Whether Thweng and his prisoner landed there seems doubtful, as we find them very soon at Coloure, another port more to the south in the neighbourhood of Perpignan, where they purchased horses, mules, and saddles, as if there they began to travel by land.

But at Coloure they met with an unexpected interruption. It was no business of Thweng, in drawing up this account, to give a history of his mission, but only to account for the charges which he made. All therefore which we have in the account itself, respecting this interruption, is, that six florins were paid, "pro deliberatione sua habenda, cum ille et omnes qui cum illo attachiati fuerunt apud Coloure;" and again thirty-two florins at Bolon on the same account.

But a satisfactory and clear light is thrown upon this interruption, by a letter in the Fœdera, 870, dated October 6, 1333. It is addressed to Alphonso, King of Arragon, and was written soon after the return of Thweng. It relates to certain claims which the heirs of Berengerius de la Tone had upon England; and in the course of it, the King thanks the King of Arragon for having set at liberty William de Thweng, who, travelling through his dominions, having in his custody a certain flagitious person called Thomas de Gournay, had been arrested by the heirs aforesaid. These unexpected correspondencies in documents, different in their origin and character, and preserved in different departments, give a confidence which a single document or a single chronicler might fail to inspire.

This accident would probably occasion the détour which we now find that the party made. Coloure is in Roussillon, and it was, no doubt, the intention of Thweng to proceed with as much dispatch as possible to Bayonne or Bourdeaux; but, instead of this, he passed into Catalonia, going southward almost as far as Tarragona. A place called Bolon is the only place named in the account after he left Coloure, till we find him at Mount Blaunk, a small town about four leagues north of Tarragona. Here he and his charge arrived under the conduct of two officers, one of whom is styled Vicarius Bolon, and the other the King's Herald. At Mount Blaunk they were delayed by the illness of Gournay. There is an entry of thirty-nine florins paid to physicians, and for medicines for his use. There is also a charge of two florins paid to the minstrels of the King of Arragon[e] while they were at Mount Blaunk. Nor did the civility of King Alphonso end here, for he allowed one of his own servants to conduct the party through his dominions on their way to Bayonne.

No circumstance is noticed of this part of the journey, and when we next find them they have traversed Arragon, crossed the Pyrenees, and are at Sordes, a little town on the Gave de Pau, within a short distance of Bayonne. Here they hire a vessel, in which they proceed down the river to Bayonne.

We are now fast approaching the close of this narrative. At Bayonne Gournay, who must have been harassed in body and mind, was again suffering extremely from sickness. He had the assistance of two physicians, to whom twenty florins were paid for their attendance upon him. Thirty-two florins were paid for medicine, sums which show that there was a serious intention to save him if possible. *He died at Bayonne.* "Item, pro quadam navi pro corpore dicti Thomæ tunc mortui ducendo de Bayon usque Burdeux xxvii flor." "Item pro corpore dicti Thomæ mortui prima vice præparando xvi flor." "Item pro eodem corpore preparando alia vice xviii flor." Two notarial instruments, doubtless relating to the circumstances of the death, were drawn up, one at Bayonne and the other at Bourdeaux.

The body was brought to England. The vessel touched at Sandwich for

[e] Thus I confidently translate the "Item, menestrallis Regis Arragoniæ," of the record; though "menestrallus" seems to have been sometimes used for any officer in a household. The other is its more usual acceptation; and the word "serviens" is immediately afterwards applied to another officer of the King of Arragon.

provisions, and then proceeded onward to Tynemouth, the King being then at Berwick. On the 7th of July 1333, Thweng presented himself to the King, to give an account of his mission. His charges amounted to 350*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* his own fee being ten shillings per diem. He remained with the King in his army at Berwick to July 20, thirty of his men, as well sailors as others, remaining in the ship "cum corpore Thomæ de Gournay mortui ducto de dictis partibus de Naples." Nothing is said of any interment.

Such then is the narrative of the end of Sir Thomas de Gournay, as collected from evidence which appears to be unquestionable. It will be seen that almost every statement of De la Moor and Walsingham is contradicted by this new evidence: 1st. That the arrest was at Marseilles; 2nd. That he was put to death at sea; and 3rd. That he was put to death under orders from England, lest he should implicate certain great persons in the crime, meaning probably the Bishop of Hereford, if not Queen Isabella herself. The last is a point of no small historical importance. As the narrative now stands, Edward appears to have acted throughout the business with the utmost sincerity and integrity of purpose; and indeed the letter which is published in the Fœdera respecting the examination of Gournay at Burgos, and the certificate to be made of it with all particulars, whoever they might be that were implicated, under the common seal of the city, ought to have relieved him, in the eyes of modern historians, from the unworthy surmise of the contemporary chronicler, that he sought to suppress evidence by the destruction of the witness.

As to Walsingham, he is to be regarded only in the light of one who, in this part of his history, has followed an earlier chronicler who may be presumed to have had excellent means of information. But, one part of De la Moor's narrative thus brought to the test of its agreement with the existing contemporary record being found entirely undeserving of credit, it is impossible to prevent a certain amount of suspicion gathering in the mind respecting other information that was given to him concerning the last year of the life of that unhappy prince, which he has exhibited with so painful a particularity.[f]

[f] In Leland's notes out of the Scala Chronica (*Coll.* I. 555) we find the following passage, which seems to show that there was a strong feeling in England against Gournay; "There was a great trobyll in Balliols hoste for an esquier caullid Gurnay, whom the Marchers killid upon a surmise that one of [his] name was consenting to the deth of the kinges father." This was some time after the execution of Mortimer.

But in respect of the bearing of this communication on the evidence used by later writers on our national history, a far more important consideration is this: that, though not fewer than ten or twelve documents selected from the public records, relating to this transaction, are printed in the Fœdera, they fail to correct the errors of the chroniclers, and in fact perplex where they ought to explain. The effect has been, that by one historian of deserved eminence, their testimony has been entirely disregarded, and he has adhered to the narrative of De la Moor and Walsingham; and by another they have been partially used, a material document entirely set aside, and that which it was only requested might be done, is assumed to have been done accordingly. This must ever be the case when we have only such slight and partial selections from the national records as the Fœdera gives us.

I transmit copies of the three Compotuses which have supplied the facts now for the first time brought to light; and, as a document interesting in itself, and closely connected with the subject of this communication, I add, as an Appendix, the account rendered into the Exchequer of the expenses attending the removal of the body of King Edward the Second from Berkeley to Gloucester, and its interment in the Abbey there, which has not, I believe, before been published. It forms a very useful commentary on the statements of chroniclers and historians.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

JOSEPH HUNTER.

To Hudson Gurney, Esq.
F.R.S. V.P. &c. &c.

(A)

Compot^{o} Egidii de Ispann' eunt in Nunc Re in ptes t^{a}nsmar p bre Re patens dat xxx^{o} die Maii anno regni sui quinto de vad ipius Egidii pcipient p dic in Angl xij. d ⁊ in ptibꝫ tr^{a}nsmarin p diem ij. s p bre Re de privato sigillo Thes ⁊ Baron directū put patꝫ inferius Dat xj. die Nov anno vj^{to}.

Rec.—Idm r comp de xx. li recept de Thes ⁊ Camer ix. die Julii anno q^{i}nto p bre de liber continent xx. li sibi liberand p itin^{o}e suo vsus Ispann p Thoma de Gournay inimico ⁊ rebello Re in eisdm ptibꝫ capt ad ipm Regem in Angl ducend put patꝫ in pelle:' Et de c. s. recept de eisdm Thes Camer:' x^{o}. die Augusti anno vj^{to} p bre Re.

Sm^{a} Recept—xxv. li.

Expn.—Idm comp in vad suis aripiendo ip suū de Sco Edo vsus ptes Ispann xxxj. die Maii eundo London p ij. dies seqn:' ibidm morando p vj. dies exp^{c}tando solucom pdcap xx. li. ac alia bria Re ad easdm ptes Ispann portand p negoc Re ⁊ ex inde eūdo p ij. dies usq Doviam ⁊ sic in Angl morando usq x. die mensis Jun 'p' x. dies an tr^{a}nsfretacoem sua:' x. s. videlt p die xij. d. Et in vad suis ab xj. die Jun quo die applicuit apd Whytsond eundo p iiij. dies Pis:' ibidm morando p iiij. dies exp^{c}tando bria Re directa Regi Ispann ⁊ ex inde eundo Burdegal p x. dies ibidm morando p vij. dies p secretis negoc Re ⁊ ex inde eundo Re Navye ipm querendo apd Tudele p x. dies p negoc Re ibidm morādo p vj. dies ⁊ ex inde usq Burges in Ispann p vij. dies ⁊ ex inde Bitorie ad Johem Martyn de Lene cū bribꝫ Re p liberacoe corpis pdci Thome de Gournay ibidm morando p viij. dies ⁊ ex inde redeundo usq Burges p iij. dies ⁊ ex inde eūdo usq vall de Leet p iij. dies:' ibid morando p iij. dies explorando Regem Ispann, et exinde eūdo usq civitat Madrich ibidm morando p xxx. dies ad loqndū cū dco Rege Ispann ibidm invento ⁊ ex inde eundo Aville in comitiva dci Re p v. dies ibidm morando p xv. dies p dcis negoc et inde eundo Sugovie in comitiva ejusd Re ⁊ ibid morando p xxx. dies exp^{c}tando adventū dci Johis Martyn ⁊ ex inde eundo usq villā de Coylle p ij. dies ibidm morando p xiij. dies ⁊ ex inde usq vall de Leeth p iij. dies in comitiva dci Re ibid morando p xx. dies expectando adventū dci Johis Martyn p lris ab eo hend ac eciam de Regem Ispann p liber corp^{is} dci Thome henda ⁊ ex inde redeūdo usq Burdegal p xvj. dies ibid morando p vj. dies p ccc. li. argenti ducend usq Pampilon p viij. dies de fine fco p liber corpis dci Thome hend quo quid tpe evasit dcus Thom ex^{a} prisonā ⁊ ex inde eundo in Arragoniā p iij. dies ibid cōmorādo p xx. dies explorando pdcm Thom ⁊ ex inde eundo in Ispann p viij. dies ibidem morando p viij. dies explorādo modū evasionis pdci Thom ⁊ ex inde

eundo Burdegaℓ p xiij. dies ibiđ morando p vj. dies p lr̃is senescall Burdegaℓ hend ad dc̃m Rℓ Ispanñ p corpe Johis Tilly vallecti dc̃i Thom̃ capti ⁊ in pⁱsona detenti hendo ⁊ 'ex' inde redeundo usq; Burges in Ispanñ p xiij. dies ibiđ morando p xvij. dies ⁊ ex inde redeundo in Naverr̃ cū p̃dc̃o Johe Tylley . ip̃m ducendo usq; villā de Olyt p vij. dies ubi Robtus Lynel inimic⁹ Rℓ capt⁹ fuit p dc̃m Egidiū de Ispanñ ⁊ ibiđ comorando p x. dies ⁊ ex inde ducendo dc̃os Johem Tylly ⁊ Robm Lynel usq; Castrum Stelle p unū diē ibiđm morād̄o p xxviij. dies explorando dc̃m Thomā ⁊ ex inde ducendo dc̃m Johem Tylly usq; Castrū Mallionis in Wascoñ p vij. dies ⁊ ex inde redeundo in Angℓ p xviij. dies applicando Doverre p̃dc̃o xvij. die Junⁱ ⁊ sic morando in ptibꝫ trⁿsmar̃ p cccIxxij. dies utᵒq; die cōpuť xxxvij. ℓi. iiij. ſ. videlicet p diem ij. ſ. Et in vađ ejusđ redeunť in Angℓ p̃dc̃o xvij. die Junⁱ ⁊ ibiđ cōmorand usq; xj. diē Novembr̃ p̃x seqñ p cxlvij. dies vij. ℓi. vij. ſ. cap̃ p diē xij. đ. Et in trⁿsfretac̃oe sua hoīm ⁊ equoꝫ suoꝫ eundo ⁊ redeundo xiij. ſ. iiij. đ.

Smᵃ Exp̃n xliiij. ℓi. vij. ſ. viij. đ.
Et ħet de suppluſ xix. ℓi. vij. ſ. viij. đ.

(B)

Particule comp̃ Egidii de Ispan' p̃vienť Regis ad arma de vađ suis 'tam' in ptibꝫ Angℓ qⁿm eciam tⁿsmar̃ p br̃e Regis patens dať pⁱmo die Junⁱ anno vjᵒ. Et p br̃e de magno sigillo dať xvᵒ. die Junⁱ anno ixᵒ.

Recepť.—Idem ⁊ comp̃ de x. ℓi. recepť xxij. die Marcii anno vijᵒ. sup vađ suis p̃dc̃is de Theſ ⁊ Camar̃ sicut conť in pelle Mᵉᵈ de Recepť Sᶜᵉcii de p̃mino videlt Sc̃i Michis anno p̃dc̃o. Et de xxx. ℓi. xj. ſ. recepť de đno Johe Travers Constabular̃ Burdegaℓ de exiť officii sui sup eisdem vađ suis.

Smᵃ xl. ℓi. xj. ſ. De quibꝫ

Idē comp̃ in vađ suis eundo 'de Wodestoke' in negoc̃ sibi p Regem injūctis ⁊ in dc̃is br̃ibꝫ contentis videlt ad attachiand quosdam inimicos Regℓ de sedic̃oe contª psonā celebris memorie đni E. nup Regℓ Angℓ p̃ris Regℓ nūc ac conspirac̃oe mortis ejusdem rectatos a dc̃o pⁱmo die Junⁱ anno vjᵒ. usq; xxv. diē ejusdem menſ p xxiiij. dies non pᵒ die sꝫ ultio computať quo die idē Egidius cepit Willm de Kyngesclere 'apud Roff'' rectatū de morte Regℓ E. p̃ris Regℓ hujus 'apud Roff'' xxiiij. ſ. vijꝫ p diē xij. đ.

Et in cons vad suis a xxvj. die Jul ꝑdco a° vj°. usq; viij. die Septembr̃ ꝑx seq̃n ꝑ xlv. dies p° ⁊ ultio comp̃ quo die idem Egidius cepit dñm Ric̃m de Welle rone mortis ꝑdce 'apud Westoñ jux' Norht' xlv. s. capienť ꝑ die ut sup'. Et in cons vad suis ducend dc̃m dñm Ric̃m de Norht usq; Londoñ ⁊ custodiēd eundem ibidem ac explorand ⁊ arestand alios rectatos de morte ꝑdc̃a a ix. die Septembr̃ ꝑdco anno vj°. usq; ultimū diem Decembr̃ ꝑx sequeñ ꝑ cxiiij. dies p° ⁊ ultio computať capienť ꝑ die ut s' cxiiij. s. Et in cons vad suis explorando inimicos Regę ꝑdc̃os a p° die Januar̃ anno vj°. ꝑdco usq; ultim̃ diem ejusdem mens ꝑx seqñ ꝑ. xxxj. dies capienť ꝑ die ut s' quo die idem Egidius cepit Johem le Spicer 'apud London' rectatū de morte ꝑdc̃a xxxj. s. Et in cons vad suis eundo ⁊ morando in divsis ptibz Angl ꝑ ꝑdc̃is inimicis arestandis a primo die Febr̃ dco anno vj° usq; ix die ejusdem mens ꝑx seqñ ꝑ ix. dies p° ⁊ ultio computať 'quo die tnsfretavit de Dovorr̃ usq; Wytsand ex causa ꝑdc̃a' capienť ꝑ diem ut sup' ix. s.

Et in passagio ejusdem 'Egidii duoz equoz ⁊ duoz garcōnū suoz' de Dov̄ usq; Whitsand 'ix' s.

Et in cons vad suis eundo in ꝑdc̃is negociis ad loca divsa infra regnum Franc̃ a x. die Febr̃ anno vij°. Regę hujus usq; x. die Jun̄ ꝑx seqñ ꝑ cxxj. dies p° ⁊ ultio computať 'inf' quod tempus cepit Johem Tylly apud Burgas in Ispañ' capienť ꝑ die in eisdem ptibz tnsmar̃ ij. s. xij. li. ij. s.

Et in cons vad suis ab xj°. die Jun̄ dco anno vij°. quo die applic̃ Burdegal usq; xxj. die mens Marcii ꝑx seqñ anno viij°. quo die recessit de Burdegal ꝑ cciiijxx. iiij. dies eundo morando ⁊ redeundo circa expedic̃oem negocioz ꝑdcoz capienť ꝑ die in ptibz tnsmaz ut s' xxviij. li. viij. s.

Et in cons vad suis eundo in negociis ꝑdcis ad loca divsa in dco regno Franc̃ a xxij. die Marcii dco anno viij° usq; p'mū diem Jun̄ ꝑx seqñ ꝑ lxxij. dies p° ⁊ ultio computať capienť ꝑ die in eisd ptibz ij. s. ut sup'. vij. li. iiij. s. Et in passagio ejusd 'Egidii' ij. equoz ⁊ ij garc̃onū suoz de Whitsand usq; Dov̄ redeundo in Angl ix. s.

Et in cons vad suis eundo ad loca divsa infra regnū Angl circa expedic̃oem negocioz ꝑdcoz a ij. die Jun̄ dco anno viij°. 'quo die rediit in Angl de ptibz tnsmar̃' usq; xv. die Jul a° ix° seqn̄ę ꝑ cccclviij. dies p'mo die non ultio computť cap̄ ꝑ die in Angl xij. d. ut sup' xx. li. viij. s.

Sm' iiijxx. li. iij. s. Et het de supplus xxxix. li. xij. s.

Idem r.—de corpore Willi de Kyngesclere occōne ꝑdc̃a capti ⁊ arestati apud Roff' xxv. die Julii anno vj°. cujus corpus idē Egidius comp̃ lib Rado de Cromwell nup Constabular̃ T'ris Londoñ x. die Augusti eodem anno vj°.

Itm r. de corpore Ric̃i de Welle similit̄ arestati apud Weston jux' Norht viij. die Decembr̃ dco a°. vj°. Cujus corpus idem Egidius comp̃ lib Willo de Elond tunc Constabular̃ Castri Notyngh'm x. die Aprit eodē a°. vj°.

Idē r. de corpore Johis le Spicer similiꝫ arestati apud Londoñ ult̄ die Januañ aº. vjº. ꝑdcō. Cujus corpus idem Egidius comꝑ lib̄ Johi Hamont tunc uni vic̄ Londoñ eodem ult̄ die Januañ.

Idem r. de corpore Johis Tilly similiꝫ arestati apud Burgas in Ispañ x. die Juñ anno vijº. Cujus corpꝰ idē Egidius comꝑ lib̄ Reymundo de Meyncent Constabulañ Castri Malloñ in Vascoñ xx. die Augusti anno eodem.

(C)

Particꝛe compoti Will'i de Tweng' milit̄ eund in obsequiū Regis ad ꝑtes Secilie ꝑ quibusdam negociis Rꝫ in curia dñi Robti Regis Secilie de Naples expediend mense Januañ anno vijmo R. E. ꝓcii a conquestu ꝑ bñe Regis videꝛt ad querend ⁊ in Angt ducend Thomā de Gournai militem rectatū de morte Regꝫ E. ꝑris Reg̃ nūc attach ad sectam cujusdam Witti de Cornewayt apud Naples in cuī Robti Regꝫ Secilie.

Recepta.—Idem reddit compoī de xxxiij. ℔. đi maꝛ. recepт̄ de thro Regis ad Recepт̄ Scacii xj. die Febr̄ dco anno vijmo. sup expens̄ suis eundo ad ꝑtes ꝑdcas in obsequiū Regis sicut conт̄ in pelle memoꝛ Recepte Scacii de ꝓmio Sct̄i Michis dco anno vijmo.

Et de vj. ℔. j. maꝛ. recept. ibidem sup eodem xx. die Aprit eodem anno sicut cont. in pelle memoꝛ Recepte Scacii de ꝓmio Pasche dco anno vijmo.

Et de L. maꝛ. recept. ibidem de illis c. maꝛ. que computantr libate eidem Willo ⁊ Petro Bernard de Pinsoles sup eodem xxviij die Aprit eodem anno vijmo. sicut cont. ibidem.

Et de cclxj. ℔. xiij. s. iiij. đ. de ꝑcio mt. Dlxx. floꝛ de Florencia receptis apud Naples nōie Rꝫ de mcatoribꝫ de Societate Bardoꝛ de Florencia unde iidem mcatores ħent ꝛras suas de recepc̄oe computato floren ad iij. s. iiij. đ.

[Et de xvj. ℔. xiij. s. iiij. đ. de ꝑcio c. floꝛ receptoꝛ de Petro Bernard de Pinsoles nōie Rꝫ de floren Rꝫ in custodia dct̄i Petri existenc̄ ꝑciū floren iij. s. iiij. đ.

Sma cccljj. ℔. xiij. s. iiij. đ.]a

Sma cccxxxv. ℔.

Expens̄.—Idem comꝑ in expens̄ ipius Witti diurnis a xvj. die Januañ anno vijmo quo die ven. apud Eboꝛ ad Regem ꝑ ꝑceptū ipius Rꝫ oretenus sibi fc̄m apud Bevlacū usq; vj.

a The portion within brackets is not in a duplicate of this account.

diem Julii p̃x seq̃nt̃ quo die venit ad Regem apud Berewycũ videlt morand apud Ebor̃ p informac̃ões ħnda de negociis Rᵉ expediend ꝟsus Regem Secilie eundo ad ꝑtes de Naples morando ibidem ⁊ redeundo ad Reg̃ usq; ad dc̃as ꝑtes Berewyci p clxxij. dies utroq; die comput. capiente p diem x. ß. juxta discrec̃oem Thes̃ ⁊ Baronũ de Sc̃acio iiij^{xx}. vj. ħ.

Et in consimilib̃ exp̃ns ip̃ius Willi a vij^{o}. die dc̃i mens̃ Julii usq; xx. die ejusdem mensis p q^{a}tuordeci dies utroq; die computato p quod temp^{o} ip̃e Willmus morabat^{r} cũ Rege in excercitu suo apud Berewicũ ⁊ xxx. hõies sui tam naute q^{a}m alii morabant^{r} in quadam navi cũ corpore Thome de Gournai mortui ducto de dc̃is ꝑtib̃ de Naples cap̃ ut sup^{a} vij. ħ.

Sm^{a} iiij^{xx}. xiij. ħ.

Forinc̃.—Itē comp̃ in passag̃ maris apud Dovorr̃ ꝟsus ꝑtes ꝑdc̃as in ꝑcio vij. flor̃. ꝑc̃ ut sup^{a} xxiij. ß. iiij. d. Itē in frettag̃ unius navis de Nise usq; ad portũ de Pyse in ꝑcio vij. flor̃ xxiij. ß. iiij. d. Itē in locac̃óe iiij. equor̃ de portu Pyse usq; Pyse in ꝑcio ij. flor̃. vj. ß. viij. d. Itē p locac̃óe equor̃ ⁊ p conductu ħendo de Pyse usq; Naples in ꝑcio lij. flor̃ ij. ß. t^{r}.—viij. ħ. xiij. ß. x. d. Itē p Cotes Hardif' emptis in ꝑcio x. flor̃. v. ß. t^{r}.—xxxiiij. ß. vij. d. Itē p iij p^{r}poynt̃ empt̃ in ꝑcio iij. flor̃. vj. ß. t^{r}.—xj. ß. vj. d. Itē p iij. pib̃ de plates in ꝑcio xiiij. flor̃.—xlvj. ß. viij. d. Itē p iij. pib̃ de Paunces, braces, ⁊ Musekyns aventat̃ in ꝑcio xlj. flor̃—vj. ħ. xvj. ß. viij. d. Itē p iij. pib̃ cyrotecar̃ de plate ⁊ iij. bacinettes in ꝑcio v. flor̃ xij. (*sic*) t^{r}.—xvj. ß. xj. d. De quib̃ armaturis idem Willms deb̃ respondere ⁊ respondet infra.

Idem comp̃ p quodam sacco ⁊ quadam cista p ꝑdc̃is armat̃is in ꝑcio ij. flor̃ viij. ß. t^{r}.—viij. ß. viij. d. Itē p quodam cipho argenteo empto ⁊ dato dño Johi de la Haye Senescallo dñi Rᵉ Secilie ꝑc̃ xxv. flor̃.—iiij. ħ. iij. ß. iiij. d. Itē hostar̃ ⁊ camar̃ dñi Rᵉ ⁊ Regine Secilie in ꝑc̃ vij. flor̃—xxiij. ß. iiij. d. Itē p indumentis ad usũ dñi Thome Gournois in ꝑc̃ vj. flor̃ vj. ß. t^{r}.—xxj. ß. vj. d. Itē p pannis lineis empt̃ ad usũ ejusdem Thome in ꝑc̃ unius flor̃—viij. ß. viij. d. t^{r}.—v. ß. vj. d. Itē p caligis empt̃ ad usũ ejusdem Thome in ꝑc̃ vij. ß. t^{r}.—xxj. d. Itē p lecto ħendo ad usũ ejusdem Thome in carcere in ꝑc̃ v. ß. t^{r}.—xv. d. Itē p bogis empt̃ ad usũ ejusdem Thome in ꝑc̃ viij. flor̃. iij. ß. t^{r}.—xxvij. ß. v. d. Itē p quodam Cote Hardif' ad usũ Willi de Cornewayll ad cujus sectam dc̃us Thom̃ fuit attachiat^{o} in ꝑc̃ ij. flor̃ iiij. ß. t^{r}.—vij. ß. viij. d. Itē p pannis lineis caligis ⁊ sotularib̃ ad usum ejusdem Willi in ꝑc̃ unius flor̃ xij. d. t^{r}—iij. ß. vij. d. Itē ꝟvientib̃ dñi Johis de la Haye in ꝑc̃ v. flor̃—xvj. ß. viij. d. Itē vallectis Admiralli Regis Robti in ꝑc̃ iij. flor̃—x. ß. Itē p frettagio unius navis de Naples usq; Agmor̃ in ꝑc̃ cccl. flor̃—lxxv. ħ. Itē nautis ꝟvientib̃ in eadem Navi in ꝑc̃ iij. flor̃ v. ß. t^{r}.—xj. ß. iij. d. Itē p iij. equis iiij. mulis ⁊ septem sellis empt̃ apud Pirpunane in terra Regis Maliogers in ꝑc̃ ccxlij. flor̃—xl. ħ. vj. ß. viij. d. de quib̃ idem Wills deb̃ respondere ⁊ respondet infra. Itē quia dc̃us Wills ⁊ om̃es qui cũ illo attach̃ fuerunt apud Coloure p delibac̃óe sua ħenda in ꝑc̃ vj. flor̃—xx. ß. Itē p hujusmodi delibac̃óe apud Boloñ in ꝑc̃ xxxij. flor̃—cvj. ß. viij. d.

Itē vienť Regę apud Boloñ in pč̄ iij floř—x. s. Itē p quodam equo ? uno garč̄oe ac p conductu ħend de Coloure usq; Boloñ in pč̄ v. floř. xvj. s. viij. d. Itē vicař Boloñ ? cuidam pconi Regis facientibꝫ conductū de Boloñ usque Mountblaunk' in pcio xiij. floř. viij. s. tr.—xlv. s. iiij. d. Itē fisicis ? p apothecis empť apud Mountblaunk' ad usum dči Thome in pč̄ xxxix. floř—vj. ti. x. s. Item p botes empť ad usum ejusdem Thome in pč̄ ix. s. iiij. d. tr.—ij. s. iiij. d. Itē Menestrallis Regis Arragoñ apud Mountblaunk' in pč̄ ij. floř—vj. s. viij. d. Itē cuidam vienti Regę Arragoñ facienti conductū p idē Regnū in pč̄ ix. floř. ij. s. tr.—xxx. s. vj. d. Itē p frettag̃ cujusdam Navis de Sorde usq; Bayoñ in pč̄ unius floř—iij. s. iiij. d. Itē cuidam nuncio dñi de Beerne in pcio uniꝰ floř—iij. s. iiij. d. Itē duobꝫ fisicis apud Bayoñ p statu dči Thome emendand in pcio xx. floř. v. s. iiij. d. tr. —lxviij. s. Itē p apothecis empť ibidem ad usū ejusdem Thome in pč̄ xxxij. floř—cvj. s. viij. d. Itē duobꝫ garč̄oibꝫ ducentibꝫ vij. equos vsus Burdeux in pč̄ iij. floř. iiij. s. tr.—xj. s. Itē p expenš dč̄oꝝ equoꝝ de Bayouñ usq; Burdeux in pč̄ iij. floř—x. s. Itē p duabꝫ navictis conductis ad victualia carianď in pč̄ ij. floř.—vj. s. viij. d. Itē cuidam garč̄oi eunti senescallo Burdeg̃ in pč̄ ij floř—vj. s. viij. d. Itē cuidam garč̄oi conductori de Marsiłł usq; Bayoñ in pcio vij. floř v. s. viij. d. tr.—xxiiij. s. ix. d. Itē p renovač̄oe Navis apud Burdeux in pcio iij. floř iiij. s. tr.—xj. s. Itē cuidam notař ibidē p cartis in pč̄ unius floř—iij. s. iiij. d. Itē p quadam navi p corpe dči Thome tūc mortui ducend de Bayoñ usq; Burdeux in pč̄ xxvij. floř juxta verum valorem eaꝺem tūc ibidem—iiij. ti. x. s. Itē p locač̄oe iij. equoꝝ vsus Burdeux extª Jeroñ in pč̄ ij. floř. vj. s. tr.—viij. s. ij. d. Itē p corpe dči Thome mortui pma vice pparand in pcio xvj. floř iiij. s. tr—Liiij. s. iiij. d. Itē p eodem corpe pparando alia vice in pč̄ xviij. floř iiij. s. tr.—lxj. s. Itē p duabꝫ navictis reducentibꝫ corpus ejusdem Thome vsus Burdeg̃ extª Jeroñ in pcio unius floř iij. s. tr.—iiij. s. j. d. Itē cuidā Notař Burdeg̃ p quodam instrumento in pč̄ unius floř iiij. s. tr.—iiij. s. iiij. d. Itē p carta Petri Bernard in pč̄ unius floř—iij. s. iiij. d. Itē Mag̃o Petro Notař apud Rayoñ p qªdam carta in pč̄ unius floř—iij. s. iiij. d. Itē p quadam pipa vini empť apud Sč̄m Mathm p garnistura unius navis in pč̄ ix. floř vij. s. tr.—xxxj. s. ix. d. Itē p duobꝫ roundilettis j. de vgus ? al de vin egre in pč̄ iij. floř. iij. s. iiij. d. tr.—x. s. x. d. Itē p aliis iiij. roundilettis p garnistura dče navis in pč̄ uniꝰ floř iiij. s. tr.—iiij. s. iiij. d. Itē p lectis ? aliis aisiamentis ħend in navi de Bayoñ in pč̄ x. floř.—xxxiij. s. iiij. d. Itē p victualibꝫ apud Sandwyč̄ empť in pč̄ iiij. floř. xij. d. tr. —xiij. s. vij. d. Itē p equis locař de Tynnemuth usq; Berewyč̄ in pč̄ vij. floř. iiij. s. tr.— xxiiij. s. iiij. d. [Itē p empť de Petro Bernard in pč̄ c. floř—xvj. ti. xiij. s. iiij. d. de quibꝫ equis ? armatr̄is idem Wilts debꝫ respoñ ? respondet infra.][b] Itē libavit dño Robto de Tauntoñ custodi Garderobe Regis—cccxxxiiij. floř pč̄—lv. ti. iij. s. iiij. d. de

[b] The portion within brackets is not in the duplicate.

quibꝫ idem Robtus debet respondere ⁊ respondet infra. Itē ꝑ exp̄nꝫ ij. garc̄ unius equi ⁊ ij. mul̄ eunciū de Burdeg̃ usq; Lund̄ 'in com̃ Eboꝝ' in ꝑc̄ xxj. flor̄ vij. ꝫ. viij. d. ꝝ.—lxxj. ꝫ. ix. d.

Sm̄a haꝫ expenꝫ—cclvij. li. vi. ꝫ. x. d.

Sm̄a tot oīm expenꝫ—ccclxvij. li. ij. d.
Et het de supplus—xv. li. vj. ꝫ. x. d.

(D)

Compot⁹ Hugon' de Glaunvill' ctici assignat̄ ad corp⁹ E. Regꝭ pat̄is Regꝭ nūc duci faciend̄ de castro de Berkeleye usq; ad Abbathiam Sc̄i Petri Gloucestr̄ et ad solvend̄ vad̄ illis qui in comitiva dc̄i corpis ꝑficisci debeant ⁊ morari et ad alias exp̄nꝫ faciend̄ que ꝑ conꝰvac̄oe dc̄i corpis fieri optebnt ꝑ br̄e Regꝭ de Sc̄acio patens cui⁹ dat̄ est ap̄d Eboꝝ xxij. die Octobr̄ anno regn̄ Rꝭ E. ꝯcii a conquest̄ p̄mo ꝑ visum ⁊ testimoniū Ric̄i de Byflet quē Rex assign̄ ad dc̄as Exp̄nꝫ supvidend̄ contrarotland̄ ⁊ testificand̄ vidit de vad̄ soluc̄ ⁊ aliis exp̄nꝫ necessar̄ ꝑ ip̄m Hugon̄ fact̄ a predc̄o xxij. die Octobr̄ usq; xx. diem Decembr̄ p̄x sequent̄ quo die corpus dc̄i dn̄i Regꝭ ibid̄m sepeliebatur.

Id̄m reddit compot̄ de c. ꝫ. recept̄ xxiij. die Octobr̄ de Venerabli p̄re H. Linc̄ Epo Thesaur̄ et Camar̄ Regꝭ ap̄d Eboꝝ sup exp̄nꝫ ⁊ vad̄ solvend̄ illis qui jux⁸ corp⁹ dc̄i Regꝭ morabant⁹ ap̄d Gloucestr̄ sicut continet⁹ in pelle recept̄ Sc⁸cii anno sc̄do ꝯmino Sc̄i Mich̄.

Et de —— xxviij. li. vj. ꝫ. viij. d. rec̄ de Thoma de Rodborwe[c] vic̄ Gloucestr̄ sup consimilibꝫ exp̄nꝫ ꝑ br̄e Regꝭ de Sc⁸cio eid̄m Thome de majore sm̄a dirc̄t̄ ⁊ acquiet̄ dc̄i Hug̃ eid̄m fc̄am.

Et de —— xiij. li. rec̄ de Ric̄o de Pavos ⁊ Thoma de Rossele Collectoribꝫ vet̄is custume ⁊ nove in portu Bristoll sup consimilibꝫ exp̄nꝫ ꝑ aliud br̄e Regꝭ de Sc⁸cio eisd̄m Collectoribꝫ dirc̄t̄ ⁊ acqi⁹t̄ dc̄i Hug̃ eisd̄m fc̄am.

Et de —— xiiij. li. rec̄ de Thoma Fairday ⁊ Henrico Lovecokꝭ collector̄ custume Regꝭ in port̄ Exon̄ sup consilibꝫ exp̄nꝫ ꝑ ꝯcium br̄e Regꝭ de Sc⁸cio eisd̄m collectoribꝫ dirc̄t̄.

[c] Rodberghe, in the counter roll.

Et de —— vj. li. x. s. rec̃ de prestit̃ Garderob de dño Robto de Wodehous̃ custod̃ Garderobe Regę p man^{o} Robti de Storlande ap̃d Wigorn̄ xxvj. die Decembr̃ in ppacac̃oem vad̃ Edi de Wasteneys p mora sua jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę ap̃d Glouc̃.

Et de —— viij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. rec̃ de prestit̃ Garderob Regę de eod̃m dño Robto in ppacac̃oem vad̃ dñi Robti de Hastangę morant̃ jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę ap̃d Glouc̃ p man^{o} ejusd̃m dñi Robti p̄dc̃o xxvj. die Decembr̃.

Et de —— xlij. s. rec̃ de prestito Garderob de eod̃m dño Robto p man^{o} Willmi de Hillom ap̃d Norht̃ xv. die Maii p vad̃ dñi Bernardi Bergh̄ de Kyrkeby.

Sm^{a} Rec̃ lxxvij. li.

Inde id̃m compu^{t} solu^{t} f'ri Johni Landaven̄ Epo ordinat̃ p dñm Regē ad morand̃ ap̃d Glouc̃ jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę p̃ris sui usq; ad funerac̃oem ejusd̃m pcipient̃ p diem jux^{a} ordinac̃oem consit̃ Regę ap̃d Notingh^{a}m [spāli^{t} sup eod̃m negoc̃ vocat̃]^{d} xiij. s. iiij. d. q^{a}diu morabatur ibid̃m vidlt a xxj. die Octobr̃ quo die corpus p̃ris dñi Regę p̄dc̃i ducebat̃ de Berkele usq; ad Abbathiam Sc̃i Petr̃ Glouc̃ usq; xx. die Decembr̃ p̃x̄ sequent̃ p lix. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ultimo cōputat̃ — xxxix. li. vj. s. viij. li. p br̃e Regę de p^{i}vato sigillo ⁊ acquiet̃ dc̃i dñi Epi de pte ejusd̃m sūme dic̃t recept̃ testificant̃ ut patet p compo^{t} cū eod̃m fc̃m ap̃d Glouc̃ xxij. die Decembr̃ anno p̄dc̃o.

Et dño Robto de Hastangę militi moranti jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę ibid̃m a xx. die Octobr̃ anno p̄dc̃o usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃x̄ sequēt̃ p lx. dies capient̃ p diem vj. s. viij. d. p ordinac̃oem p̄dc̃i consit̃ dñi Regę—xx. li. p sup^{a}dc̃m br̃e Regę ⁊ iiij. acquietanc̃ ip̄ius Robti de pte dic̃t recept̃ testificant̃.

Et dño Edmūdo Wasteneys militi moranti jux^{a} corpus Regę ibid̃m a xx. die Octobr̃ anno p̄dic̃t usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃x̄m sequēt̃ p lx. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ultimo nō compu^{t} capient̃ p diem v. s. p ordinac̃oem consit̃ Regę p̄dc̃i—xv. li. p sup^{a}dc̃m br̃e ⁊ tram acq^{i}etāt̃ ip̄ius Edmūdi de pte dic̃t recept̃ testificant̃.

Et dñis Bernardo Bergh̄ de Kyrkeby ⁊ Ric̃o de Byfle^{t} [e] capellanis Regę morantib; ibid̃m a p̄dc̃o xx. die Octobr̃ usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃x̄ sequent̃ anno p̄dc̃o p lx. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ult^{i}o nō cōpu^{t} quor; ul^{t}q; cepit p diem iij. s. p ordinac̃oem p̄dic̃t consit̃ Regę—xviij. li. p sup^{a}dc̃m br̃e ⁊ acquiet̃ eor;dm̄ de pte dic̃t recept̃ testificant̃.

Et Bertrando de la More ⁊ Johni de Enefeld s̄vientib; Regę ad arma ⁊ Andree Chaundeler morant̃ ibid̃m jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę p ordinac̃oem sup^{a}dc̃am a xx. die Octobr̃ anno p̄dc̃o usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃x̄m sequent̃ p lx. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ultīo nō compu^{t} quor; quilibt eor; cepit p diem xij. d.—ix. li. p sup^{a}dic̃t br̃e ⁊ acquiet̃ eor;dm̄ de pte dic̃t recept̃ testificant̃.

Et Willmo Beukayre s̄vienti Regę ad arma moranti ap̃d Berkeleye ⁊ Glouc̃ jux^{a} corpus

[d] These words are cancelled in the account, but retained in the counter roll. [e] Byfflet', in Contr.

Regę a die Sčī Mathei Aꝑli vidlt xxj. die Septembr̃ quo die Rex moriebaꝰ usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ pr̃m sequenť anno supᵃdčo qui cepit p diem xij. đ. p ordinačõem supᵃdčam ꝯp iiijˣˣ. ⁊ x. dies pⁱmo ⁊ ultimo compuť—iiij. ℔. x. s. p aliud bŕe Rę de pⁱvato sigillo ⁊ acquieť ejusđm Willmi dicť recepť testificanť.

Et Hugoni de Glaunvill ctico assignať p veñ p̃rem H. dei gr̃a Linč Eꝑm tūc[f] Theȝauř ⁊ Baroñ de Scᵃcio ad eundū de Eboꝛ usq; Berkeleye ⁊ duci faciend corpus Regę de ibiđm usq; Abbathiam Sčī Petri Glouč ⁊ ad solvend vad morantibȝ juxᵃ corpus dči Regę ibiđm capienť p diem [juxᵃ ordinačõem eoꝝđm] s iij. s. iiij. đ. a xxij. die Octobr̃ anno supᵃdčo usq; xx. diē Decēbr̃ pr̃m sequenť quo die corpˢ Regę sepeliebaꝰ p lix. dies—ix. ℔. xvj. s. viij. đ.

Et eiđm moranti aꝑd Glouč ad computand cū ministris Regę p iiij. dies post sepultur̃ corpis dči Regę ⁊ redeundo de ibiđm usq; Eboꝛ p vij. dies caꝑ ut supᵃ—xxxv. s. ix. đ.

Et cuidam garčõni deferenť bŕe Regę ⁊ lr̃am dči Hug̃ a Glouč usq; civitať Exoñ Thom̃ Fairday ⁊ Henrico Lovecok' collector̃ vetis ⁊ nove custum̃ Regę ibiđm p denar̃ ab eisđm ℌnd eundo ⁊ redeund p x. dies ex ℂta convēčõe facta cū eođm—ij. s. vj. đ.

Et cuidam garčõi eunti de Glouč usq; Bristoll ad deferend bŕe Regę ⁊ lr̃am dči Hug̃ p consimili causa eundo ⁊ redeund. p iij. dies—vj. đ.

Et cuidam garčõni deferenti lr̃am dči Hug̃ de Glouč usq; Eboꝛ Theȝauř ⁊ Baroñ de Scᵃcio ad ℂtificand eis de appatu ⁊ ordinačõibȝ fčis ibiđm p corpe Regę eundo ⁊ redeundo p x. dies—xx. đ.

Et cuidam garčõi deferenť lr̃am Regę de Glouč usq; Londoñ dño Thome de Useflet custodi magne Garderobe Regę p appatu ⁊ aliis rebȝ ordinať festinād p sepultura corpis dči Regę ⁊ ducend de ibiđm usq; Glouč eundo ⁊ redeund p vij. dies—xiiij. đ.

Et in iiij. magnis lignis de quercu aptis ad sarrand ad barreas fač p claustura circᵃ corpˢ Regę ad resistend oppressiõem popli irruenť una cū stiꝑnd carpentar̃ ⁊ sarratoꝛ—viij. s. ix. đ.

Smᵃ exꝑn cxviij. ℔. vij. s. xj. đ.
Et hab supplusag̃ xl. ℔. xv. s. viij. đ.

Smᵃ recᵗᵉ lxxvij. ℔. xij. s.
Smᵃ expñ cxviij. ℔. iij. s. viij. đ.

Attached to the front of this Roll is the following writ:

Edwardus dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hibñ ⁊ Dux Aquiť dilco ctico suo Ričo de Portesgrave dčo de Byflete saltm̃.

Cum Dederimˢ diem ad scᵃcm nr̃m dilco ctico nr̃o Hugoni de Glaunvill ad qⁱndenā

[f] In the contr. the word *tunc* is omitted. s Cancelled in the account, but retained in the counter roll.

videℓt Sc̃i T¹nitatis pẍ futuꝝ ad reddendū noƀ compotū de receptis misis ⁊ expensis ꝑ iꝑm fc̃is ꝑ visum ⁊ testimoniū vr̃m circa cariagiū corꝑis bone memorie dñi E. nuꝑ Regis Angℓ pr̃is nr̃i de Castro de Berkeleye usq; Abƀiam Sc̃i Petri Glouc̃ ac conservac̃oem ejusd̃m corꝑis qui quidem compotus sine v̄ri ꝑsencia reddi nō potest seu ꝺ̃minari.

Vobis mandam⁹ qd in pp⁹a ꝑsona v̄ra sitis coram Baroñ de dc̃o Sc⁹cio nr̃o apud Eboꝛ ad ꝺ̃dc̃am q¹ndenā cum cont⁹rotℓis v̄ris ⁊ oñibꝫ aliis que penes vos sunt dc̃m comꝑ tangentibꝫ ad on⁹andū ꝺ̃fatū Hugoñ ⁊ ad ulterius faciendū quod ad officiū cont⁹rotℓatoris ꝑtinet supꝑ comꝑ ꝺ̃dc̃m.

Et ħeatis ibi tunc hoc br̃e. T. H. le Scroꝑ apud Eboꝛ x. die Maii anno r. ñ. octavo.

Ꝑ rotℓm Memoꝛ de eodem anno, Pasch. Dies dati.

Attached to the dorse is the Counter Roll, the variations in which are noticed in the margin.

On the dorse of the Counter Roll is the following note of its delivery:

Hunc 9⁹rotℓm cū br̃i eidem consuto liƀavit hic Ric̃us de Potesgrave dc̃us de Byflete ꝑ manus suas ꝑp¹as xxv. die Maii anno regni R. E. tercii post conq̃stū octavo ⁊ ꝺ̃stitit sac̃m coram Baroñ eod die qd oñes expense ⁊ soluc̃oes in hoc rotℓo contente fideliꝺ̃ fc̃e fuerunt ꝑ Hugoñ de Glaunvilℓ circa cariagiū ⁊ conservac̃oem corꝑis infrascripti ꝑ visum ⁊ testimoñ iꝑius Ric̃i.

XX. *A Letter from* John Gage, *Esq. F.R.S., Director, to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary, with an Account of a British Buckler, found in the bed of the River Isis, between Little Wittenham and Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.*

Read 14th December, 1837.

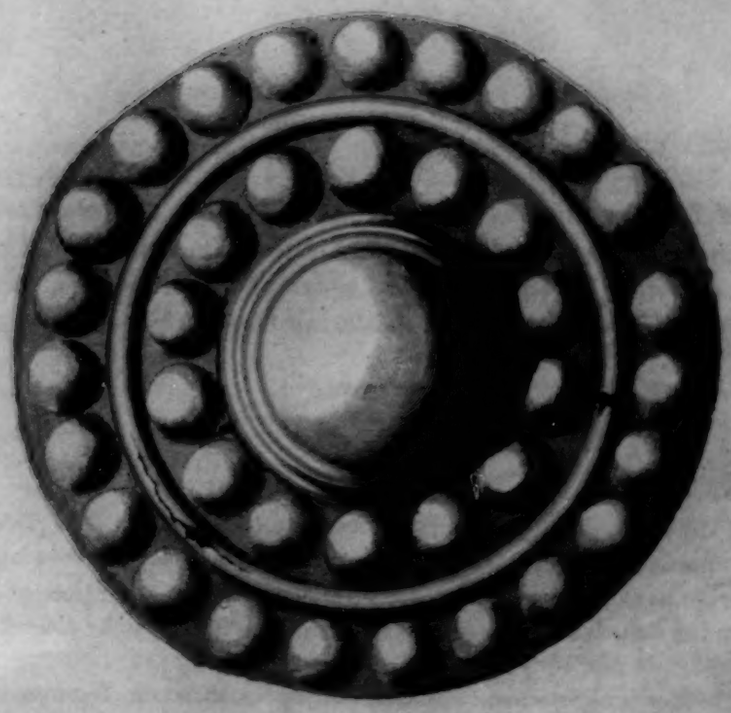
Dear Sir Henry,

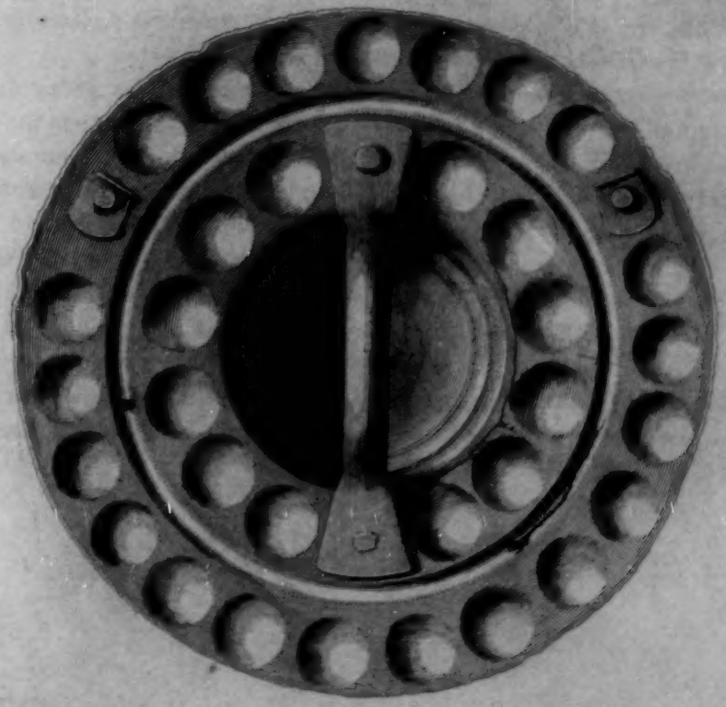
THE Gold British Corslet lately exhibited to the Society will be fresh in their recollection, and I now have the pleasure of submitting the drawing of a little round Buckler, (Pl. XXII.) recently added to the collection of Antiquities in the British Museum, which for its workmanship may be classed with the Corslet.

This Buckler is of bronze or metal, measuring in diameter fourteen inches by thirteen. It is ornamented with two series of round bosses, between raised concentric circles, having a large boss or umbo in the centre. All the bosses are punched in the metal excepting four, two of which form the rivets to the handle within, and two are the rivets to the metal extremities apparently of a strap, these four bosses being consequently moveable.

This interesting object was found in the month of October 1836, on the lower margin of the pool of the Little Wittenham or Day's lock upon the river Isis, about half a mile above the junction of that river with the Thame stream, midway between Little Wittenham bridge and the weir connected with the lock, about one mile to the westward of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards from the western end of an earthwork, called Dyke hills, and three quarters of a mile from the intrenchment upon Sinodun or Little Wittenham hill. The spot is remarkable, and a plan of it is subjoined, showing, under the letter A, where the Buckler was found.

The Rev. James Clutterbuck, vicar of Long Wittenham in Berkshire, from whom the plan has been received, accompanied it with the following observations, dated April 6, 1837:





A bronze British Buckler found in the bed of the River Isis.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 15th 1818.

J. Basire, del. et sculp.

"I have tried," says Mr. Clutterbuck, "to ascertain from the lockman, by whom the shield was found (and who is well acquainted with this and other parts of the river), the exact spot and nature of the ground where it was discovered; the information obtained from him, coupled with my own observations, lead me to the conclusion, that it was lying in the *ancient* bed of the river Isis.

"He tells me that he was ballasting (raising gravel from the bottom of the river) on the lower margin of the lock-pool, where a quantity of gravel had been driven up by the water washing through the weir; when they had made a large hole in the gravel, at the depth of some feet, they came upon a drift, which, from the appearance it presented, convinced him that they were upon the ancient bed of the river; in this drift the shield was found. being forced to the surface by the spoor (the implement used in ballasting).

"In the course of last summer I happened to examine the spot rather minutely when passing over it in a boat, and I have also lately visited it; and my own observation confirms the opinion of the lockman, as to the river still running over its ancient bed at the spot in question. On the western or Berkshire side the ground rises rather abruptly from the river bank, which must have prevented the river from ever having deviated materially from its present course on that side, and the state and nature of the eastern or Oxfordshire banks show that the river has never deviated from its present course on that side.

"I mention these things, because there are many places where to my knowledge the river has been gradually altering its course, which would make it difficult to determine where the bed of the river was at any given period, but not so in this case. Another fact worthy of notice, is, that there has been a ford within the memory of man within about two hundred yards of the spot in question.

"I may therefore state with some confidence that the shield was found on the ancient bed of the river Isis, very near, if not absolutely upon a spot where it was fordable.

"In the neighbourhood, Roman and British coins, pottery, utensils, arms, and skeletons, are very frequently discovered."

The large British shield at Goderich Court is ornamented, like this Buck-

ler, with bosses within raised concentric circles, and has an umbo to receive the hand, and also appears to have had straps; but the bosses of the Buckler are six times the size of those on the shield, while the diameter of the Buckler is about half the diameter of the shield.

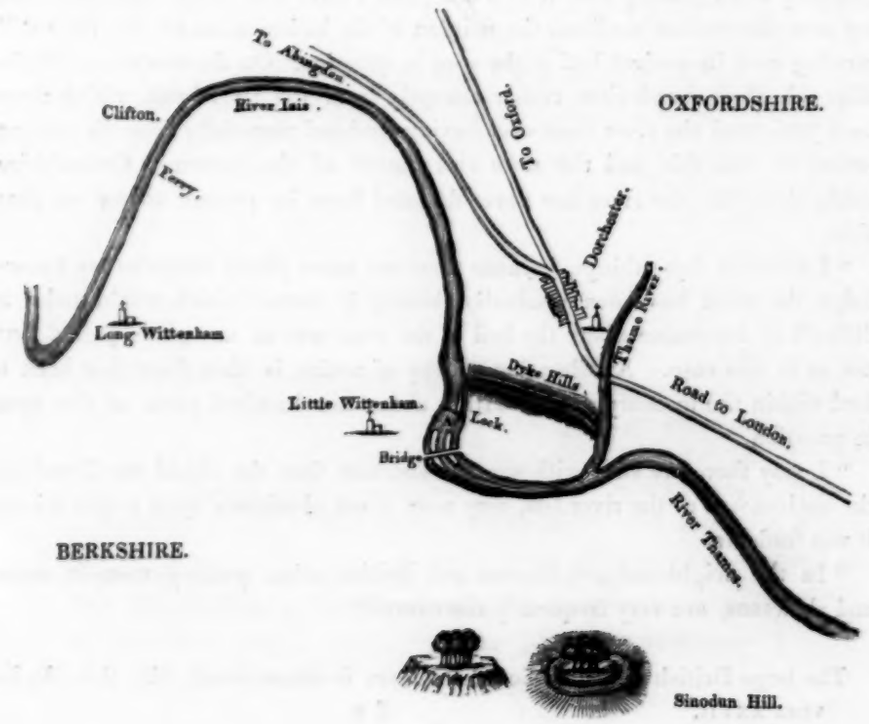
Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick is of opinion that this Buckler is a unique specimen of the Tarian, showing that the Dobuni had a different form of shield to what was used by the natives near Newcastle on Tyne, or by those of Merionethshire and Cardiganshire.

Dear Sir Henry,

yours faithfully,

JOHN GAGE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.



Sinodun Hill.

XXI. *A Letter from* Edward Hawkins, *Esq. F.R.S. & S.A. to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S., Secretary, with an Account of some Saxon Pennies, and other Articles, found at Sevington, North Wilts.*

Read 21st December, 1837.

Dear Sir Henry,

In January 1834 labourers employed in making a deep drain upon a farm in the occupation of Mrs. Gough at Sevington, in North Wilts, found some Saxon Pennies, nearly seventy, it is said, in number.

They were buried between two and three feet deep, in the middle of a meadow, where there was no trace of buildings; and appeared to have been deposited in a box, of which there were some decayed remains.

With these coins were dug up a circular ornament, about one inch in diameter, having a hole through its centre, some fragments of silver and brass, and two delicate instruments of silver, one a fork, and the other in the nature of a spoon. The whole were found, as described by the workmen, in a space not exceeding the size of a hat.

These circumstances have been communicated by C. W. Loscombe, of Pickwick House, Corsham, Esq. who exhibited to the Society some of the silver Pennies, together with the fork and spoon and other objects found.

Of the seventy Coins which were discovered, many were much defaced, and some taken up in fragments; thirty, however, were in good preservation, and are Coins of the following personages:

Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury from	A.D. 806 to 832.
Ceolnoth, ditto	832 to 872.

Ceonwulf, King of Mercia from . .	796.
Ceolwulf	819.
Berthulf	839.
Egbert, King of all England . .	827 to 838.
Ethelwulf	838 to 857.
Ethelstan, King of East Angles . .	878 to 890.

The greater part of them were of types well known, and requiring no particular observation; but ten of them, presenting some variations, have been engraved in Plate XXIII.

Fig. 1 is a coin of Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, and resembles that given by Ruding, plate xiii. fig. 1, except that the bust of the Archbishop is confined within the inner circle. The moneyer's name upon the two coins is the same.

Fig. 2, presents a similar bust of the Archbishop, and has on the reverse an abbreviation of the name of his episcopal city, Dorobernia civitas: the name of the moneyer is SWEFNERD, a name which occurs upon coins of Egbert, sole monarch, and Ceonwulf, King of Mercia.

Fig. 3 is a coin of Ceonwulf, King of Mercia; the moneyer's name appears to be TALHSTAN, but the first letter ought probably to have been an E, but as we have not the coin to refer to we cannot say whether the mistake be that of the engraver of the die, or the artist who made the drawing.

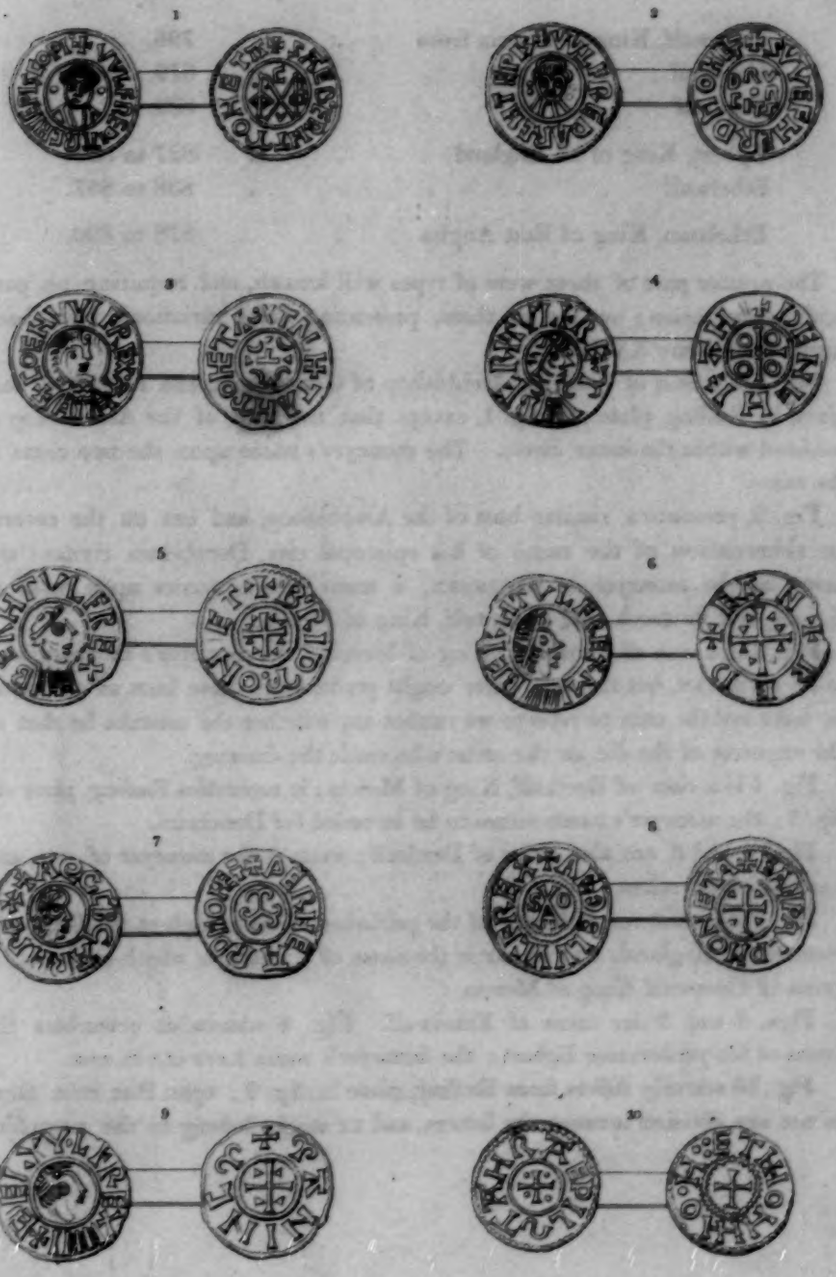
Fig. 4 is a coin of Berthulf, King of Mercia; it resembles Ruding, plate vii. fig. 5; the moneyer's name seems to be intended for Denehean.

Figs. 5 and 6 are also coins of Berthulf; BRID is the moneyer of one, and EANRED of the other.

Fig. 7 does not resemble any of the published coins of Egbert the First, sole monarch of England; WERHEART is the name of a moneyer which occurs upon coins of Coenwulf King of Mercia.

Figs. 8 and 9 are coins of Ethelwulf. Fig. 8 somewhat resembles the coins of his predecessor Egbert; the moneyer's name EANPALD is new.

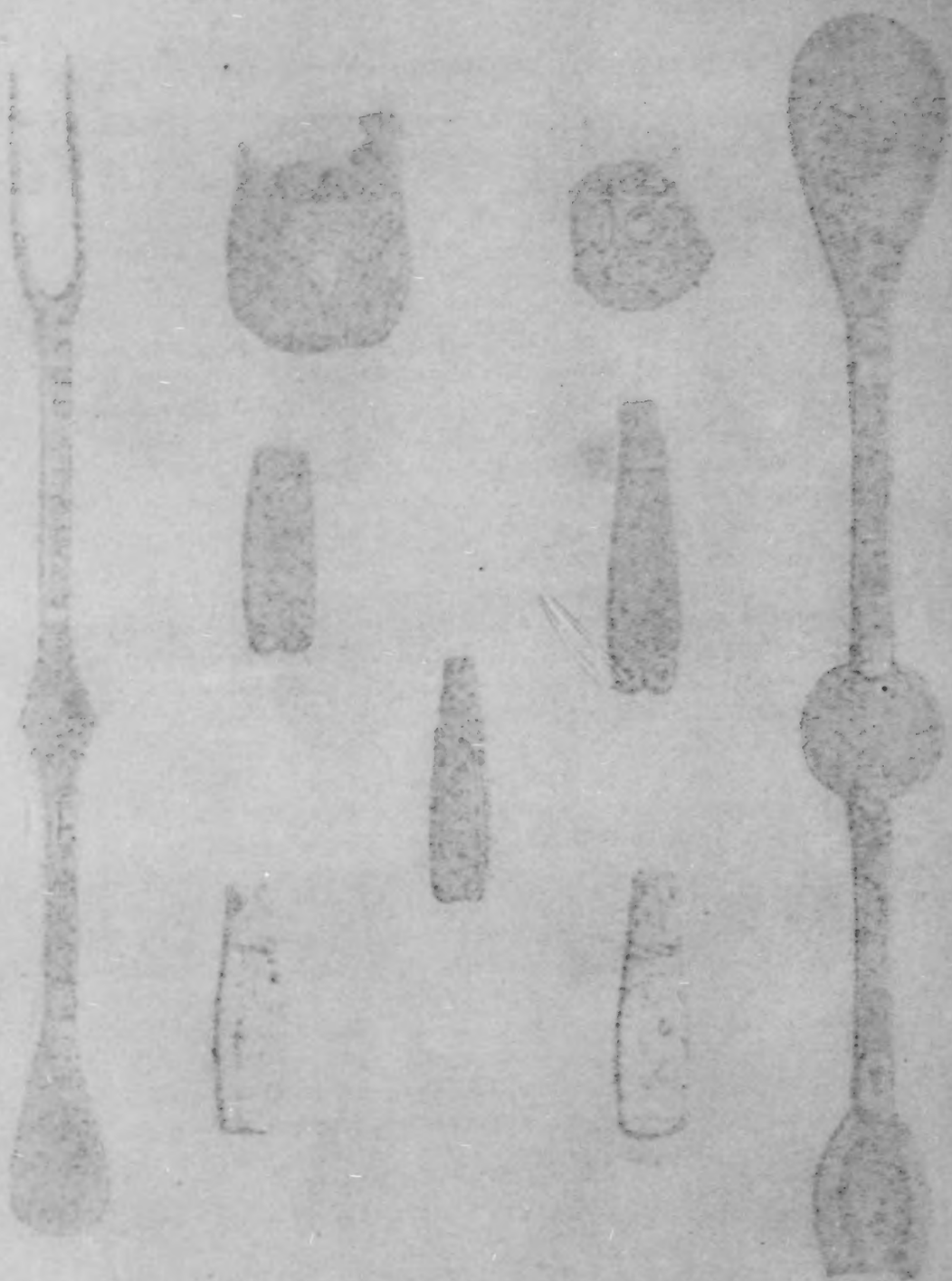
Fig. 10 scarcely differs from Ruding, plate ix. fig. 9; upon that coin there is not any division between the letters, and ET might belong to the preceding

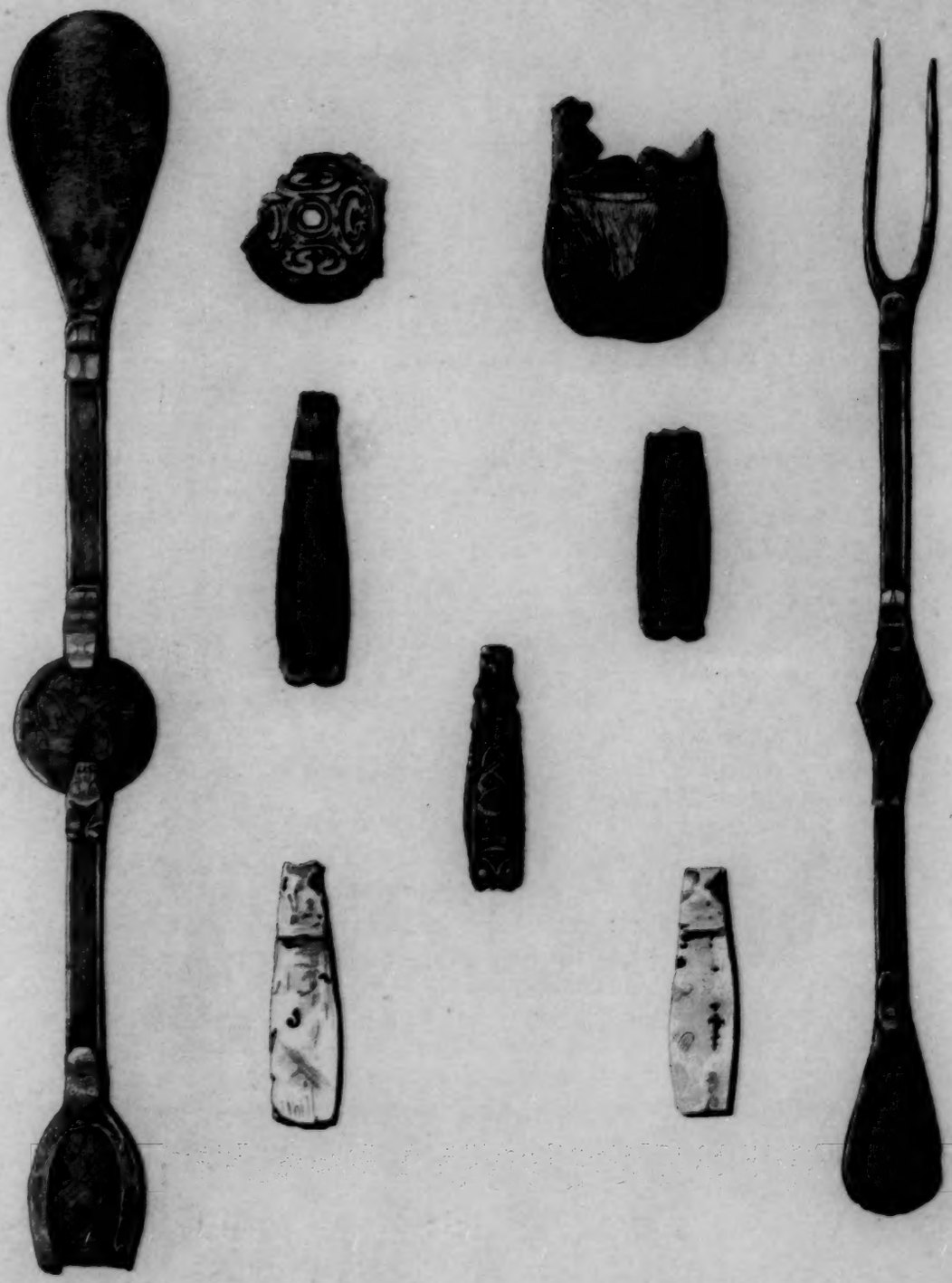


Saxon Pennies found at Sevington in North Wilts.
1834.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1835.

J. Basire sc.





Spoon, Fork, and fragments of Silver and Brass, found at Sevington.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 10th 1834.

or subsequent letters; the author has considered the moneyer's name to be MON, it is, however, more probably ETMON, the two first letters being separated from the preceding by three dots, upon the coin before us.

The fork, spoon, circular ornament, and fragments of silver and brass found with the coins, are delineated to the full size in Plate XXIV.

The fork, which has two prongs, weighs 7 dwts. 14 grs. and the spoon 18 dwts. 23 grs., and there is an accordance in the style of workmanship of both, the spoon retaining traces of the Runic knot over parts of it, which is not seen in the fork. Both are remarkable for the flatness, as well as the shape of the centres and extremities of their handles. The Runic pattern is found on the circular ornament and some of the fragments, and there can be no doubt that all the objects are of the same age, and unquestionably Anglo-Saxon work. By reference to the dates of the reigns of the monarchs with whose coins these objects were found, it will appear that they must probably have been made before the close of the ninth century.

When the objects were first discovered, some antiquaries, before they had had the opportunity of examining them, hesitated to admit the genuineness of the fork; or at least its claim to the high antiquity attributed to it. The doubts were probably the result of impressions fixed in the mind by the following curious passage in Coryates Crudities:

"Here I will mention a thing that might have been spoken of before in discourse of the first Italian Towne. I observed a custome in all those Italian Cities and Townes through which I passed, that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither doe I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth use it, but only Italy. The Italian, and also most strangers that are commorant in Italy, doe alwaies at their meales use a little forke when they cut the meate; for while with their knife, which they hold with one hand, they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten their forke which they hold in their other hand upon the same dish, so that whatsoever he be that sitteth in the company of any others at meate, should unadvisedly touch the dish of meate with his fingers, from which all at the table doe cut, he will give occasion of offence unto the company, as having transgressed the lawes of good manners, insomuch that for his error he shall be at the least brow-beaten, if

not reprehended in wordes. This forme of feeding I understand is generally used in all places of Italy, their forkes being for the most part made of yron or steele, and some of silver, but those are used only by gentlemen. The reason of this their curiosity is, because the Italian cannot by any meanes indure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I myselfe thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and oftentimes in England, since I came home: being once quipped for that frequent using of my forke, by a certaine learned gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one Mr. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry humour doubted not to call me Furcifer, only for using a forke at feeding, but for no other cause."[a]

The impression made by this passage was, that forks were scarcely known before the time of Coryate, not only in England but upon the Continent, whereas an accurate examination of it ought to have led to the conclusion, that in Italy at least the use of these articles was of long standing and universal occurrence; and it is not improbable that their use had never ceased from the time of the Romans.

In the works of Count Caylus and Mons. Grivaud are drawings of Roman forks with two prongs, one found on the Appian Way,[b] and the other in the Gardens of the Senate,[c] at Paris, formerly the Luxembourg palace. The handle of the first of these instruments is in the form of deer's legs, and is indisputably of Roman workmanship.

In the Chronicon Placentinum[d] we find silver forks and spoons specially mentioned as in use in Piacenza in the fourteenth century. These facts, however, afford but little illustration of the objects which are the peculiar subject of this communication. It is tolerably certain that forks were not in use in this Island about the time of Coryate; but it is perfectly certain that such articles must have been known here in the ninth century, from the evidence of this disco-

[a] Coryat's Crudities, pp. 90, 91, ed. 1611.

[b] Recueil d'Antiquities, tom. iii. p. 312, planche lxxxiv.

[c] Antiquités Gauloises et Romaines recuellies dans les Jardins du Palais du Senat, &c. Par C. M. Grivaud, Paris 1807.

[d] Et utuntur taciis, cugiariis, et forcellis argenti. Chron. Placent. Muratori, tom. xvi. p. 582.

very at Sevington. That the fork and spoon have been found in close juxtaposition with coins of that century, unmixed with other productions of a later period, would be of itself sufficient evidence of their contemporaneous antiquity. The fabric and the ornaments with which the fork and spoon are decorated would, to the practised eye, be quite sufficient evidence of the approximate era of their manufacture. The combination of these circumstances cannot leave a doubt upon the mind of the most prejudiced, that the fork and spoon, for whatever purpose they may have been intended, whether sacred or domestic uses, were manufactured in the ninth century.

I am, dear Sir Henry,

yours faithfully,

EDWARD HAWKINS.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

XXII. *Instructions by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, to his son Algernon Percy, touching the management of his Estate, Officers, &c. written during his confinement in the Tower: Communicated by* James Heywood Markland, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read June 1 and 8, 1837.

THESE Instructions were transcribed by Mr. Malone from a MS. preserved in the library at Petworth, and by the late Earl of Egremont I was authorised to lay them before the Society of Antiquaries. They form the second of three treatises, all of which were written by Henry Earl of Northumberland, and addressed to his son. The first, written in 1595, consists of thirty-three pages, and is without a title; but we may gather from the introductory paragraph of the following paper, that its object was similar to the present one.

The third treatise is entitled "Instructions for the Lord Percy in his Travells," and has been printed at length in the "Antiquarian Repertory."[a]

[a] Vol. iv. p. 374, ed. 1809. In these Instructions his son is directed "to attain the *Tongues*;" to make diligent researches into the *Laws* of different countries, the *tenures* of land, their *commodities*, the *people*, their *manners*, *dress*, *exercises*, and *diseases*. The writer observes, with truth, "These things are not difficult to enquire, and they will ask but the enquiring to learn them."—Again, "What you observe of worthe take notes of; for when you list to take a reweu, the leaves of yowr bookes are easylyer turnd over, then the leaves of yowr memory."

On the subject of *religion* the writer seems anxious that his son should continue a Protestant, and he advises him to shun intemperance and excesses on the score of health. Higher motives are not urged; but "Remember," he says, with good feeling, "that you must dye an Englishe man, and love your owen home best, for I know not where yow can be markt with soe good a blessing as God and yowr Countrey hathe markt you withall."

Not being possessed of any fresh original materials,[b] I have no intention of giving a biographical memoir of the author, derived as it must be from sources which are open to all; but it may not be useless to recall to the readers of the following paper, a few of the leading events of his life.

Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, was born in 1564. His father Henry, the eighth Earl, terminated his life in the Tower in 1585, under lamentable circumstances well known, and to which his son alludes in a few guarded words.[c]

"He was one of those stars," says Sir Walter Scott, "who shot madly from their spheres in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was supposed to have entered with Lord Paget and Throckmorton into a plot for setting her at freedom."[d] How far he was implicated, seems doubtful; Camden evidently regards him as an innocent man, and alludes significantly to "spies having been sent up and down the country to take notice of people's discourse and lay hold of their words, and that reports of vain and idle stories were countenanced and credited."

Upon his death, his son, having just attained his majority, came into possession of his splendid inheritance, and he has described in strong language the many evils which beset him at this critical period, when parasites and faithless friends appear to have "squeezed the young voluptuous heir." Nor was he, by his own account, fortunate in the choice of his wife. This lady was Dorothy, the daughter of Walter Devereux, the first Earl of Essex, and the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knt.[e] with whom he intermarried in

[b] The late Earl of Egremont most kindly offered to my examination the collection of Percy MSS. at Petworth, but that nobleman's death, long to be deplored for far weightier reasons, prevented my being able to avail myself of this permission.

[c] Vide post. pp. 321, 322. According to Camden and other authorities the Earl was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets near his left breast; his chamber-door was barred on the inside, and a verdict of self-murder was returned.

[d] Somers's Tracts, i. 212.

[e] Sir T. Perrot's was a stolen match, and was celebrated under extraordinary circumstances. Two men guarded the church door, with their swords and daggers under their cloaks. A strange minister performed the service "hastily without the surplice, in his cloak, with his riding boots and

1594. Their tempers may not have assimilated, and slight differences may have been aggravated by the wrongs, real or supposed, which the Earl considered that he had sustained from his wife's relations, especially from Robert Earl of Essex, her brother. The unhappy terms upon which this couple lived may be gathered not only from these "Instructions," but from the following entry furnished me by my friend Mr. Hunter:

"1602. Nov. 6. I heard that the Earl of Northumberland lives apart *again* from his Lady, now she hath brought him an heir, which he said was the solder of their reconcilement. She lives at Sion House with the child, and plays with it, being otherwise of a very melancholy spirit."[e]—(Harl. MS. 5353.)

Brave as he might have been in war, the low estimate which the Earl had formed of the female sex, and which he also evinced by his conduct, gives a most unfavourable colour to his character, and proves that, although "the age of chivalry" was not then passed, its spirit did not animate *his* bosom. According to Ruthven's letter, the Earl on one occasion dishonorably assaulted "a worthy and virtuous Gentlewoman, and afterwards dispersed abroad certain infamous verses to defame her honor."[f] Conduct more unworthy a true knight than this cannot well be imagined.

spurs." The Lady "being a daughter of one of the ancient noblesse (though she herself was in the plot), this marriage gave great offence."—Strype's Life of Aylmer (Oxf. ed. 1821), p. 217.

[e] Mr. Hunter remarks: "I have sometimes thought that Shakespear sought to engage the public sympathy in behalf of this Lady, by representing the Lady Percy in Henry IV. in so amiable a light, at a time when the wife of the existing Percy was treated with neglect by her husband, and especially as she was the sister of Essex, the friend of Southampton, Shakespear's great friend and patron."

Her burial at Petworth is thus entered: "1619. August. Dorothie, that thrice honourable and right vertuous Lady the Countes of Northumberland; her corps was interred in the Chappell on the 14 of this month." According to Lysons this Lady's burial is also registered at Isleworth, and he naturally assumes that her interment occurred at that place. Environs of London, vol. iii. p. 112.

[f] Cabala, 356. "The writer was probably the Hon. P. Ruthven, 5th son of William 4th Lord Ruthven and Dirleton. He was an eminent physician, and was confined many years in the Tower of London, whence he was released in 1619. His daughter married Vandyck."—Retrosp. Review, vol. ii. 2nd Ser. p. 30.

In 1601 he was present at the siege of Ostend, and was perhaps induced to join the army by the persuasions of a class of persons alluded to in the Instructions. There began his quarrel with Sir Francis Vere, and the letters which passed between them in 1602 probably pourtray their characters in lively colours; the Earl intemperate and hot-headed, his opponent cool, collected, and respectful.

The arbitrary proceedings adopted against this nobleman in 1605 by James I., chiefly at the instigation of his political antagonist Cecil, form the most important feature in his life. The following extract from Cecil's letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes of the 2nd December 1605, while it details grounds of suspicion against the Earl, shews how slender was the foundation upon which they rested, and the writer's apparent mistrust of the proceedings which he himself had been so instrumental in instituting.

"The conspirators, in all the traitorous consultations, were very careful to preserve such noblemen as were Catholics from the blow; for which purpose Catesby naming Montagu, Mordaunt and Stourton, and Percy [g] others, it appeared, that those three were absent without just occasion; and that Catesby had told his complices, which are left alive, a good while before the discovery, that he was sure those three should be absent. Whereupon, those men's religion considered, and the continual conversation in which the principal conspirators had lived these three years last past with these men, their dearest friends; His Majesty, and this State, could do no less than they have done, in making sure of their persons; which being granted, you know there is no other prison for the nobility, especially in any question for matter of State, but the Tower of London; a matter, wherein I enlarge myself for the form; because you may the better satisfy your own judgment in the like course taken with the Earl of Northumberland, on whom though it cannot be cast that he was absent, yet, because Percy only named him and the

[g] Thomas Percy, the conspirator, was the grandson of Jocelyn Percy, 4th son of Henry 4th Earl of Northumberland [See Collect. Top. & Gen. vol. ii.] and was at this time constable of Alnwick Castle and auditor to Henry the 9th Earl. To this unfortunate connexion the misfortunes which befel the latter may be mainly attributed.

Lord Monteagle, and that Monteagle had a letter of warning, together with the circumstances of Percy's inwardness, and his coming out of the North three days before the time, and his resort to the Earl not twenty hours before this villainy should have been acted, the presumption hath been thought sufficient likewise to commit him to the like place and custody, and thus much the rather, because the Earl, upon the death of the Queen, and after, had declared often to the King, that the Catholics had offered themselves to depend upon him, in all their courses, so far as, his Majesty making him know his pleasure, he doubted not but to contain them from any extremity." [h]

After a delay of seven months, the Earl was arraigned in the Star Chamber on the following charges: [i]

1st. That he had sought to be the head of the Papists, and to procure toleration; 2ndly. that he had admitted Percy to be a Gentleman Pensioner, without exacting from him the oath of supremacy; 3rdly. That after his restraint he had written two letters to his servants in the North, requesting them to take care that Percy did not carry off his money and rents; and in this had committed a threefold offence; 1st. in presuming to write letters without leave; 2ndly. in preferring the safety of his money to the safety of the King; 3rdly. in giving warning to Percy to take care of his own person.

What were James's own feelings on this occasion may be gathered from a Petition of the Countess of Northumberland in 1612-13, where she says:

"Please your Majesty but to remember when I was an humble suitor some six years since for my Lord's liberty, when it had pleased your Majesty, out of your gracious dispositions, to free my Lord Mordaunt, and my Lord Stourton, I then laying open the smallness of the offences my Lord was sensured for; your Majesty said it was not for those sensures that he was so restrained, though his own kindred laid it upon him; but that your Majesty must have a care of the safety of your own barnes, which I hope time hath given you understanding how little those feares are to be fostered in the harte

[h] Birch's Historical View of the Negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, p. 244.

[i] These charges will be found set out at length in Collins's Peerage (3rd edit.) iv. 132, but the concise abridgment of them by Dr. Lingard has been here quoted. Hist. of England, vol. ix. p. 90.

of a King ruling over dutiful subjects, and not to fall after so long time to so severe a course for matter of proffit, because, as they say, none ever had so great need as your Majesty hath."

Of the Earl's occupations after his return from Ostend, he has furnished some particulars in a letter which he addressed to the Lords of the Council [11 Nov. 1605].

"Consider, I desire your Lordships, the course of my life, whether it hath not leaned more of late years to private domesticall pleasures than to other ambitions. Examine but my humours in buildings, gardenings, and private expences these two years past. Look upon those fewe armes at Sion,[k] my stable of horses at this instant, the dispersedness of them, and of my servants, the little concourse of followers, and your Lordships will finde they be very consonante one to another, and all of them to put by all jealousie."[l]

The Earl was finally adjudged to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, to be deprived of all his offices, to be incapable of holding any for the future, and to remain a prisoner for life in the Tower. The imprisonment was afterwards reduced to a period of fifteen years, and the fine was compounded for a sum of 11,000*l.*

"It appears almost incredible," observes Mr. Hallam, "that a man of his ability, though certainly of a dangerous and discontented spirit, and rather

[k] In a petition addressed to the King (14 April 1613), the Earl offers this place as a compensation for the oppressive fine imposed on him. "Sion, and please your Majesty, is the only land I can put away, the rest being entayled. I had it before your Majesty's happy entry 48 years by lease, without paying any rent, but such as was given back again, certain in other allowances. It hath cost me, since your Majesty bestowed it upon me, partly upon the house, partly upon the gardens, almost 9,000*l.* The lands, as it is now rented, and rated, is worth to be sold 8,000*l.* within a little more or lesse. If your Majesty had it in your hands, it would be better than 200*l.* a year more, by the copyholders estates, which now payeth but two years old rent fine; dealing with them, as you do with all your copyholders in England, is worth, at the least 3,000*l.* The house itself, if it were to be pulled down and sold, by view of workmen, comes to 8,000 and odde pounds. If any man, the best husband in building, should raise such another in the same place, 20,000*l.* would not do it; so as according to the work it may be reckoned at these rates 31,000*l*; and as it may be sold and pulled in pieces 19,000*l.* or thereabouts."

[l] Collins, iv. p. 135.

destitute of religion than a zealot for Popery, which he did not, I believe, openly profess, should have mingled in so flagitious a design.

"Every one must agree that the fine imposed on this nobleman was preposterous. Were we even to admit, that suspicion might justify his long imprisonment, a participation in one of the most atrocious conspiracies recorded in history was, if proved, to be more severely punished; if unproved, not at all." [m]

The series of letters given by Collins, tends strongly to vindicate his innocence. During a succession of years he addressed himself to the King and his ministers, to Lord Burleigh, whom he calls his uncle, and several other noblemen, with an impassioned earnestness, and apparent sincerity, that carry conviction in his favour. [n]

From year to year he preserves the same tone, never seeking to obtain favour by concessions, nor admitting the justice of his sentence; but from first to last, protesting both against the charge laid against him, and the rigour of his punishment.

When he heard that Percy was apprehended, having been shot through the shoulders, he declares to the Lords of the Council, that "none but he can shew me as clear as the day, or dark as the night. Therefore I hope it shall not offend you if I require haste, for now will he tell truly, if ever, being ready to make his account to God." This was not the language of a guilty man.

His long confinement was softened by the opportunities afforded him of associating with men of talent, and Mr. Fraser Tytler, in his interesting life of Raleigh,[o] has given us the following lively sketch of the Earl's habits and pursuits in the Tower:

"The eccentric Earl of Northumberland was imprisoned there at the same time with Raleigh, and continued within its walls for fifteen years, during which period he established a Literary and Philosophical Society in

[m] Hallam's Constitutional History, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 47.

[n] These letters form such a valuable illustration of the Earl's life, that they ought not to have been omitted in the last edition of Collins's Peerage. The same remark applies to the correspondence with Sir Francis Vere.

[o] Tytler's Life of Raleigh, p. 329.

his apartments, and diverted the melancholy confinement by keeping an open table for such men of learning and ingenuity as were permitted to visit him. Percy, who had been shut up on a suspicion of having some concern in the Gunpowder Treason, was a mathematician, a chemist, an astrologer, and a humorist. Splendid in his entertainments, and lavish of his immense wealth, he was ready to pay any sum for the company and conversation of men of genius.

"Hariot, Raleigh's master in the mathematics; Hughes, who wrote on the globes; and Warner, a scholar addicted to the same studies, received pensions from the Earl; and from the constancy with which they assisted their noble patron in his chemical experiments and astronomical calculations, received the names of his three Magi. Serjeant Hoskins the poet, whom Ben Jonson mentions as 'the person who had polished him,' was confined in the Tower about the same time, and whilst Sir Walter pursued his chemical researches with Northumberland and the Magi, he conversed on poetry, philosophy, and literature, with Hoskins."

About five years after this period, Birch observes, that "a new discovery was made, which brought his Lordship to another examination."

The affair is thus represented by the Earl of Salisbury, on the 25th of July 1611, to Sir Thomas Edmondes: "There was one Elkes, a servant of the Earl of Northumberland, and one who was no stranger to his secrets, who complained to some private friends (who yet kept it with no privacy), that he stood in some danger of his life, seeing he observed his Lord's affection to grow somewhat cold towards him, which he conceived could proceed from no other cause but jealousy, lest he should reveal some secrets, which he had revealed to him concerning the Powder Treason. This being discovered, the Earl was examined, and confessed two things: The one, that after he was committed to the Tower, and before he came to the Star Chamber, he wrote to his brother Sir Alan Percy, to take it upon him, that, by his means, Percy was admitted a Gentleman Pensioner to his Majesty, and suffered to escape the oath: the other, that he was made acquainted with the hiring of that house from whence the mine was made: both which facts he had strongly denied before. And though they be not, says Lord Salisbury, of such nature (in regard they do not necessarily enforce

the knowledge of the fact) as to call him to a tryal for life or lands; yet they serve to justify the former proceedings, those points being now cleared, which at that time were but presumed." [p]

Here again we perceive Cecil's anxiety to discover some grounds for justifying the severity exercised towards the Earl. If the latter was ignorant of the *object* for which the house was taken, or had thought it was hired for another purpose, the fact amounts to nothing; and Cecil throughout this letter seems to consider that the admission by the Earl of certain charges formerly denied by him is the chief accusation against him. This may not have been creditable to the Earl's veracity; but it does not make him a conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot.

The following Work occasionally presents some curious traits of domestic manners (particularly amongst the higher ranks of females of the author's own time), and some remarks, not devoid of acuteness; but it does not lead us to regard the author himself as a man either of an enlarged or of an amiable mind. In worldly wisdom he was assuredly not deficient; but his precepts are those of one who took a most prejudiced and unfavourable view of human nature.

He inculcates no religious principles; few moral obligations, or kindly affections; and, if this tract is to be regarded as "a window into the writer's heart," to use the words of honest Fuller, the poet has not expressed himself too severely, when he speaks of

"That hideous sight, the *naked* human heart."

How striking is the contrast presented between the crooked counsels of this nobleman, and the excellent advice given by Sir Henry Sydney to his son Philip: "Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of, and think that only by a virtuous life and good actions you may be an ornament to your illustrious family." Still, a large share of candour and indulgence should be extended towards the writer. "A great estate," says Bacon, "left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment." [q] The Earl was placed in this hapless situation entirely uncontrolled, and apparently

[p] Birch's Historical View, p. 246.

[q] Essay on Riches.

without one good adviser. Hence he grew up distrustful of mankind; so much so, that we must agree with Johnson, "it is happier to be sometimes cheated than not to trust."

The encouragement which he bestowed upon men of learning, and the enjoyment which he received in their society, are redeeming points in his character.

The conduct of James towards him during many of the best years of his life was in the highest degree tyrannical, oppressive, and ungenerous, and could only have tended to stifle every spark of generosity in the bosom of his prisoner.

At the very time this MS. was penned, the Earl was possibly labouring under that sickness of heart, which arises from hope deferred; and even a disposition naturally brave, open, and generous, might, from the continued operation of adverse circumstances, be so injuriously wrought upon as at length to become the seat of suspicion, selfishness, and other unamiable feelings.

The Earl survived his release from the Tower about twelve years, and this period, we are told, he passed chiefly at Petworth,[r] where he died in 1632.

In Petworth Church, on a brass plate fixed to the pavement of the chapel of St. Thomas, now concealed by pews, is the following inscription:

"Here lyeth interred the body
of Henry Lord Percy,
the ninth Earle of Northumberland
of that family, and the
Fifth that had ye order of ye Garter,
who died the fifth day of
November,[s] in ye yeare of o^r^ Lord 1632,
and the 70 of his age."

[r] See a lively description of a scene which occurred at this mansion in 1620, between the Lord Viscount Lisle and the Lord Doncaster, sons-in-law of the Earl of Northumberland, and in which the Earl himself was a principal actor.—Sydney Papers, vol. i. p. 121.

[s] In the register the Earl's burial is entered as having taken place on the 6th November, the day after his death. Considering the high rank of the party, and the preparations customary on such occasions, this is extraordinary. Perhaps his disease was of a malignant character.

INSTRUCTIONS BY HENRY PERCY, NINTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, TO HIS SON ALGERNON PERCY, TOUCHING THE MANAGEMENT OF HIS ESTATE, OFFICERS, &c. WRITTEN DURING HIS CONFINEMENT IN THE TOWER.[a]

AN. 1609.

THIS discours, which concerneth Officers and Servants, written fourteen years after the former, wherein I begonne to bestow upon yow my last gift, a will and testemony continewing in me, and still must, soe long as I have a care to amend in yow the errors I have found in my selfe, perhaps delivered out of glory to see what I could say, or out of good will to instructe yow what yow ought to doe, or mixt of boeth for boeth ends; yett howsoever written, if yow make yowr profitt thereby, I obtaine one of my ends. Wonder not at the alteration of the style, whiche perhaps yow may fynd; for ether I have gott mutche since that tyme, in looking after other matters of greater waight, or loste mutche forme in phrase, which youth commonly pleaseth it selfe with. In this, the chiefe precepts I am to deliver, are the accidents that hath oftenest befaulne me of this economicall nature, things likeliest to be more exemplary to yow then to others, because yow are to

[a] Although Mr. Malone states that the date of 1609 is the heading of the original MS., there is reason to suspect that it must have been written later, if the former code of instructions was prepared fourteen years previously for the use of the same person. Collins states that Earl Algernon was baptized 13 Oct. 1602; and see quotation from Harl. MS. 5353, ante (p. 308). Possibly the former MS. was drawn up by the Earl either upon his having a son prior to the birth of Earl Algernon, or prospectively in the event of his having an heir. There is proof that Algernon was not the first-born son. In the Sydney Papers (7th Nov. 1595) it is stated, "My Lady of Northumberland is now knowen to be with child:" and again (2nd June 1597), "My Lord of Northumberland is much grieved at the death of the Lord Percy, his son." This explains an entry in the register of burials at Petworth, "1597, May 31, Henry Lord Percy." The period of 14 years, dated from 1595, may thus be accounted for.

Several alterations in the orthography and phraseology of this MS. have been made by a later hand, perhaps that of Algernon tenth Earl of Northumberland, but I have constantly followed the original.—Malone.

follow me in my fortuns, place, and what I was borne to. If any thing comme in *obiter*, that is worthy the noting, theas precepts will shew yow it in the planest caracters I can devise; since I know that things planliest written are the best way for doctrine; and labored styles are but to please those who are more taken with shadows then with substances: therefore in this economycall government six Principells are to be observed, wherein if yow be your Arts' Master, great errors shall never be committed: three of them are for yowr selfe to doe; other three are for yow to know will be donne by officers for the most part. Bycause men are men, you must not thinke to fynd gods of them for knowledge, nor saints for lyfe; they must be subject to there affections and passions; they will chewse that whiche they shall thinke to be best for those ends they aime at, although there conclusions will be but parologismes and ignorances, if well disgested, as most things under the sonne are: and I see not how it can be otherwyse, especially in them; since officers are men for the most part, if it be well marked, but of the ordinary straine of understanding, or if they chance to be of hieher conceite, then shall yow find it most commonly but in somme one particular, in whiche they have bene mutche beaten and most conversant in: or if otherwyse it faule out that they be extraordinary in generall for knowledge, they will never incline and yelde to that occupation, if not ledde on ether by yongenes of years, which must have beginnengs to enter the world, or some sloethfull or licentious humors that are there masters for the tyme: but commonly want is the mane agent to make them runne that cours. Thus mutche I say, bycause yow may see what there diseases are; and, there diseases discovered, yow shall be the better able to minister fitt remedye, to satisfy them and not hurt your selfe. For I say, not to give succor and reliefe after that proportion yow are able, out of yowr fortuns, to sutche as waste there tyme in yowr busines, is inhumanitee and dishonorable; and for them to gaine by deceite from yow [that] whiche is not fitt for yow to give, is wickednes in them, and folly in yow to lett goe: whereas, using the contrary, yow shall be able to give more with lesse losse to yowr selfe, and they prove to gaine more in the ende, with more honesty to them selfes. And this I must truely testify for servants, out of experience, that in all my fortuns, good and badde, I have found them more reasonable then ether wyfe,

brothers, or freinds; and why it should be soe the case is manyfest. A wyfe can be but a woman, subiect to mutche weakenes, and yett there passions and desiers stronge, if not stronger then others: brothers yonge and inconsiderat in the former part of there years, (if not somme rare and extraordinary nature,) whose humors, if not satisfyed to the full, as they conclude is due to them owt of the rights of birth, being borne of one flesche and blood, or as somme shall tickell there fancies with the defence of an equalite to be most iust and consonant to reason, presently they will be angry with lawes that hath made a difference, and with the elders if they share not to the proportion of there desiers. The last of theas, whiche concerne freinds, I have found soe many and soe weke-harted in cases of adversite, inclining soe mutche to the over-loving of there owen perticulars, that the very respects of common humanytee and fortitude hath bene laid aside.

The principells that I mynd to give yow a tast of, are theas:

First, that yow understand your estate generally better then any of your officers.

Secondly, that yow never suffer yowr wyfe to have poore[b] [power] in the manage of yowr affairs.

Thirdly, that yowr gifts and rewards be yowr owen, withowt the intercession of others.

The other three that is to be observed to procede from your officers and servants, are theas:

4. All men love there owen eases and them selfes, best.

5. Envy will ever be hatched where multytudes are drawen together.

6. Men easely will not be removed out of a tracke of lyfe once entred into; for the effects at hand are ever more perswasive and apparent then thos which are more remote, whiche will ever seme more impossible and hard.

[b] This mode of pronouncing the word power was carried over to Ireland in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and remains to this day in the pronunciation of the family of that name in the South.—Malone.

FIRST CHAPTER.

These six chapters following[c] endeavour to lay open the three principells and three cautions already given, by way of reason and experience as I have found them mixt together.

The first principell, that enjoyns you to understand your own estate generally better then any [of] your officers is very plaine, the very best at the first cast of your thought thereupon. And I say the father commits no smaule faulte towards his sonne, that labors him not in it in his yong years; for ordinarily I have marked that all men that consumeth there estates, are for the most part ignorant what they have; what the worth of it is; what the perticular commoditees thereof may be; how difficulte it is to gather together soe mutche; not apprehending the very bulke of sutche sommes, as that would be, being sold or bought. In great expenses very few hath ever seen together the hundreth part of that was wasted; and princes that hath ever bene frugall, in my observation, hath bene acquainted with the grosse of there treasure at somme tymes, with there owen eies. The humor is soe tickling and easy, when any affections or desiers doe move, to say,—" borroughe, sell, buy, pay, give,"—as the evill is not knowen before the smart is felt; and yett shall he never behold more for it, then an Auditors collection once in a yeare, or once in his lyfe, perhaps never. That this principell is manifest, true, and sound, I must use theas reasons and experiences for proofe. Boeth in ancient tymes and in latter years they have bene held in great honor, that knew most. Often tymes they were reputed as gods, whose understandings did soe excell others, that it was believed nothing could lye secrett from there knowledges, whether the knowledge grew by inspiration or by art or by deceit or by intelligence, or what way soe ever; or in what kind of government soe ever; yett did it fixe in men awe, obedience, reverence, honor. In the same sort must yowr understanding above your ser-

[c] The writer has only left the first *three* chapters; notwithstanding which, his work is nearly complete, for his division is inartificial, and the whole ought to have been comprised in three chapters. His three *cautions* (as he calls them) should have made part of the *first* chapter; and, in fact, in that chapter he has touched some of the topics which he proposed as the subject of the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters.—Malone.

vants worke the same effects, in this degree of economicall carriage: for beliefe it, servants are never bold to deceave, but when they find the master weake or carelesse by over believing; and I must needs say, that it is the masters falt, if an evell and dishonest servant serve him long. Masters may know very well there is but few mane knowledges required in this businesse, and that is, ether skill in his owen affairs, or to gaine true informations out of faithfulnes of the servant, or out of factions. The first of theas I have soe explayned and labored by bookes of survays, plotts of mannors, and records, that the fault will be yowr owen, if yow understand them not in a very short tyme better then any servant you have: they are not difficult now they are donne; they are easy, and yett cost me mutche tyme and mutche expence to reduce them into order. By them shall yow direct and see, when yowr causes procede well or evell, slowly or swiftely; and it is not my meaning to make yow a slave to yowr welthe, or a whole acting instrument to yowr profitt; for that were base, too mutche tasting of the clowne, and losse of tyme from more worthy matters, that yowr cauling and place will showe yow to. For yow to sitt at the helme of yowr owen estate, to direct well with expedition and ease, will be a means of upholding yowr honor with a good report, without the dislike of yowr neighbours, whose goods otherwyse necessyte will cause yow to covett. The other two points, concerning the art of informations, will more properly faule in the 5. cap. then in this; therefore till then I will suspend them, and telle yow what myne owen experience hathe taught me in my lyfe tyme to be true, in this case of ignorance of myne owen fortuns.

At my first entrance into the governing of myne owen, after the death of yowr grandfather, and I being yonge, my fathers officers[d] adhered to me; almoste all of them; somme of them to my mother;[e] as commonly yow shall

[d] The economy of every nobleman's house was formed on the model of the Royal Establishment. He had his Master of the Horse, his Cofferer, his Auditor, Clerk of the Kitchen, Yeoman of the Chamber, Steward of the Household, Comptroller, &c. &c.; and these were all called his *Officers*.—Malone.

[e] Katharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and Lady Lucy Somerset his wife. Another daughter married Sir Thomas Cecil (eldest son of Lord Treasurer Burghley), afterwards the first Earl of Exeter.

ever fynd the wyfe will have the second choise: for servants' dispositions are sutche, that they will rather elect to be a principall officer in a lesse house, then a second in a greater, if the difference be not very mutche unequall, ether out of meanes or other circumstances. Yett all of them packed[f] together to serve there owen turns, one excepted, whos humor was a littel sowrer then the rest; thinking to gaine by good desert of me, not considering that the disabilitee of my judgement in thes matters could minister noe understanding to make true distinction betwene plaine dealing and flattery: yett was he a chiefe adviser in my fathers tyme, to kepe me from the knowledge of myne owen; partely to please, for aged fathers commonly loveth not to see there children gape after there dissolution (how well soe ever they love them) if not all together the better temperd and wyser; partely out of an ancient education in our country receaved, proceding from the austerite of parents, then more used then now; and I thinke the severite of the churche was one principall cause, in imitation of whiche we were ledde on to this custom:—(why the churche should have it in estimation, I leave it to farther thoughts). But this one thing is worthy by way of note, that men commonly, of what vocation soe ever they be, crosse there owen designs by there owen fore acts, in that they most labor to attaine to. This is true, whether the desier of man be for honors, lyberty, or welthe, etc.; for there is ever somwhat apperes to be good for the present, that beguiles them or theirs in ther mane ends. At the same tyme when the thirds came to disposing and dividing, they blessed me with another good turne, that turned to my losse afterwards; for they made me pass to yowr grandmouther, for part of her jointer, all the western lands; whereby she receaved more fynes in her lyfe tyme, being but 120^{lb} yearely, then I did of all the lands I had in England besides; I paing the rest of her jointer by equall portions yearely; soe as she receaved all the best profitt that the western lands would afforde, and the rest, without trooble or care, was laid at her doores.

An other good turne, ether out of discretion or out of faithfull love to there masters eldest sonne, was added to this, whiche I thinke there consciences did not tell them was there old masters will; for, if ever father loved a sonne, he did me, (and whether his death was sutche as vulgarely it

[f] Packed—combined.

was bruted,[f] is not for this place), only this I must say and conclude, that his care was to leave me well to mayntaine the honor of his house, behind him; his servants hath often confessed it to me, soe as they could not be ignorant, nor I beliefe otherwyse; yett as I sayd before, breathe was noe sowner owt of his mouth, from whom they had all there means or most part, but that they procured letters of administration for yowr grandmouther, the goods being forfited, a bloe of tenne thowsand pound to me; so as I came to be an Erle of Northumberland soe well left for moveables, as I was not worthe a fyer-shovell or a paire of tongs: what was left me was wainscotts or things revited with nales, for wyfes commonly are great scratchers after there husbands deaths, if things be loose. Somme answer, that of right it was hers; yett may it be replyed, that out of conscience somwhat ought to have bene left and reserved. If these had bene yong servants, and new commers, the wonder had bene the lesse; but they were cousens,[g] old servants, councellers, and sutche, as somme of them had told 15 years, somme 20, in his service. They had there rewards out of the western lands, that yelded them three lyfes in reversion, whiche advantage my mouther gott, and they gave her, knowing the tenure of thos lands yelded that poore [power] out of the custom of the mannors. The ground and roote of all theas absurdites I can attribute to nothing more then want of knowledge in myne owen estate, an ignorance fostered in me by my fathers concealing of that was fitt for me to have bene made acquainted withall, ether to cause obedience in keping me under, or to hinder prodigall expence in somme smaule tryfles.[h] Hand in hand with theas followed many inconveniences that

[f] See ante, p, 307.

[g] This passage gives a curious feature of ancient times. All the minor branches of every family looking up to the *Chief*, those for whom he could not make any other provision he employed either as officers or servants. This custom prevailed in Ireland in the middle of the last (18th) century.—Malone.

[h] We shall find the Earl again deploring this want of confidence on the part of his father, and perhaps the same conduct is always attended with similar results. "A spendthrift son, it is said, ought not to be told the value of his expectations. The objection that he will anticipate and waste the property, is scarcely specious. To inculcate prudence, give a son a suitable education, and apprise him fully of the circumstances in which he is placed. Every one's experience will acknowledge that mystery is the bane of domestic happiness, and that unreserved disclosure is the best promoter of it." Evidence of Mr. Bickersteth (now Lord Langdale) on the Establishment of a General Register, April 1832.

my tyme hath tasted of; and the ground, as I sayd before, by not being taught the secretts of my estate, before I had use thereof.

Being thus well fitted of officers, as yow have hard, followed then my iudgement of electing the rest of my servants, every one making most hast, whoe should preferre them selfes and there freinds the soonest, for the harvest was grone rype and fitt for the sickel, since want of experience made me negligent in picking men out fittest for my profitt, though wyse enoughe to chuse them answerable to my humor; whiche was, to be yong, handsomme, brave, swaggering, debaucht, wilde, abbetting all my yong desiers; and all theas had their shares with me in my littel fortun; somme out of wastefull expences that they nourished in the house, others out of gaine of clothes out of my creditt in mercers' and silkmen's shopps; others by defalking[i] part of debts from the true owners, using delayes of payments to my creditors, if they did not condescend: baffeling[k] my honor by this fowle dishonesty, to [too] common in the world emongst servants of carelesse masters: other, out of false disbursements in extraordinary expences, being favoritts of the chiefer officers;—and mutche more out of want of good counsaille from these greene heads to give, and my selfe to take, not being apted as then out of want of teaching before. Then were my felicites, bycause I knew noe better, halkes, hounds, horses, dice, cards, apparell, mistresses; and all other riott of expence that follow them, were soe farre afoote and in excesse, as I knew not where I was, or what I did, till, out of my means of 3000^{lb} yearely, I had made shift in one yeare and a halfe to be 15000^{lb} in debt: soe as the burden of my song must still conclude ignorance in myne estate to be the mayne cause. Somme may say, good counsells were noe strangers to myne eares, for many bestowed them liberally upon me; but I must returne my reply, that they were not to my iudgment and understanding, though to myne eares; and all bycause my father had not labored me in that I was capable of. It is most true that Tyme will teache sunns in long tyme, otherwyse cauled experience, without instructions of parents; but fathers commonly are inclined to flatter them selfes soe mutche with the length of there yeares, as they committ many irrevocable errors by

[i] Defalking—subtracting—diminishing.

[k] Baffeling—disgracing.

way of deferring. Thus being faulen into creditors' clamors, a greater discontent to me then somme other, my lands being intaled, all our witts fell a consulting how this burden might be eased, my mynde then being overwearyed with the sutes of poore people, whose goods I had, and could not satisfy: each calling for his owen; and poore creaters waiting at every corner made me thinke a backe doore an honest sally to escape ther importunites; a disease that hanteth an honest mynd and a great debt. Well;—woods weare concluded the next means of reliefe, soe as the axe was put to the tree, and officers being forward to cleare them selfes of there bonds,[l] least an untymely deathe might give them future troobles, made soe spedy sales as within a few years was sold the valew of 20,000^{lb}, well worth 50,000^{lb}, to Jewellers and Silkemen, making there nests in the branches. I cannot chuse but note my ignorance in this amōgest the rest, and there carelessenes in the husbandry to be noe lesse. In steed of preserving of woods that might easely have bene raysed, the memory of good trees in rotten rootes doeth appere above ground at this day, being forced now for the fewell reliefe of your house at Petworth,[m] to sowe acorns, where as I might have had plenty, if ether they had had care, or I knowledge: but if yow conceave that others will cast there thoughts soe often and attentively of your affaiers, as yow will doe yowr selfe, if yow understand them, yow will fynd yowr selfe deceaved in the reckoning and learn the experience by losse. Here rested not the cours of my infrugalyte; for, althoughe indiscrete sales did give me somme ease, soe withall it intised me on in the mean tyme, being fedde with a continuall supply; for, not understanding what was done in theas untymely bargains, and those abowt me wanting charite to teache me the errors I runne, I learned nothing at that present (but short precepts somme tymes by way of discours, a fashion of doctrine that many thinke they doe well in, bycause they understand the matter them selfes, not understanding that a yonge witt must be ledde on in a more serious advise, whiche for the most parte men ether knoweth not how to manage, or will not take the

[l] Bonds which they had entered into, to raise money for their master.—Malone.

[m] The writer, before his confinement in the Tower, usually passed his summer at Alnwick. He had now been four years confined, and his son Algernon, to whom this discourse is addressed, it appears resided at Petworth, probably for the sake of being near his father.—Malone.

payns how to effect;) whereby I might be induced to holde my hands in other matters following; for easy supplyes and prodigall expences doe ever stryve who shall be formost. Now, woods being goen, fynes only rested to comme in play, the grasse being cutt under my feete for my western lands, as yow hard before. Northumberland, Cumberland and Sussex, being but coppiholders of inheritance, would yeald nothing. A littel pittance in Yorkshire remayned, wherein commodites might be raysed. The tenants having somme few years to comme, by perswasion of officers, I renewed there estates for twenty-one years; made 1700^{lb} fyne, and lost by that bargaine almost 5000^{lb} a yeare till the tyme was expired. The benifitts y^{t} fell to my share, was, that the tenants prayed God to blesse there worshipps, waited on them to all there pleasuers; feasted them and lodged them well:—littel bribes now and then was discovered to be taken; great ones I doubt not were had, thoughe carried more closely; and thus in pompe, iyngeling uppe and downe the cuntry with there gilt bosses and studded trappers, there tales being at ease upon soft seates, weare auguries of an evell turne towards me, and a warning to yow to eschew glorious officers and servants, as a peste to yowr estate. And could any thing be imputed to be the reason of this, (since in myne owen tyme it hathe bene amended,) but the want of knowledge of myne owen?—Lands were sold, and more would have bene if I could, at under rates. For other petty and scattered demyses, I will only remember in the cateloge of the account; wherein my ignorance (for I will ley it upon nothing else) lost me, what in letters of administration,—in partition of thirds,—in giving in honnymoone tyme, or unadvisedly,—in sales of woods, —in demises of lands, and sale of somme littel,—60,000^{lb} or 70,000^{lb}.

Things being brought to this passe, and my hands being tyed from a farther expence, then a-yearely comming in, most of theas ancient officers drew there necks from under the yoke, and left me to care for my selfe. Well; within a littel tyme theas errors having unmasked them selfes to me, I beganne to take up, and to take to myne owne affaires; partely constrayned by an imperfection that God laid upon me, to caule me backe, partely out of necessitee, soe as in tyme I redemed my selfe out of the disquiet of disgusted thoughts, endevoring to hugge in my arms faithfull servants, iewells, to to [too, too] precious! and to discarde sutche as my knowledge told me

were corrupt instruments to me. I must confesse I was forced to discard to the very kitching boyes, before things could be settled as I wished; for yow shall ever fynd it, servants will strive what they can to uphold any lyberte winked at before, if any one of a former corrupt familee be left; and it is strange that in a household where men are gathered together from all the corners of the world, not likely to continew in that state two years to an ende, how strongely they will pleade custom, if it be but a lofe of bredde or a cann of bere, (whiche when they have they will give it to doggs rather then lose it,)—with a proverbe, "the lord payeth for all."—In the ende I lighted of thos who lyked me well, after many discardings, the triall being sufficiently confermed by servants of seventeen years standing, and most of 14, 12, 10, continuances, and soe now more likely to continew then ever. I will not be soe selfe conceited, to say, it was my governement and understanding did bring this about wholy; nether will I lay it upon fortun in my choise, for that were childische to him that knoweth that there is nothing without a cause; but I will conclude my understanding myne owen affairs, althoughe but in a mean degree, and there understanding that honesty is best, where dishonesty is in hasard to be discovered, were somwhat reciprocall in this act: yett was not this soe feceable, that I had not somme evell measure offered in there carriages; nether could any way that ever I could use, free me from absolute coosenage, and the most frequent will be ever found in the meanest, whiche if it may not be helped as yow would, must be donne as well as yow can; for soe as mane [main] matters of this kind be cared for, the losse will be lesse in the lesse; whiche was not mutche materiall in my latter tyme, bycause then was littel matter to worke upon.

* * * *

Thos that yow have to governe in your family are of two sorts; the better, and the meaner. Of the better sort, especially of your cheefe instruments, there are few; and they in very deede, if yow understand them well, not properly soe fitt to derect the greatest businesses, as to execute the greatest businesses, and to direct the smauler; the prime direction being ever the master worke: otherwise shall yow be but a master in shew, not in deede. The meaner are only to execute the smauler businesses and to doe as they are bid; whiche yow shall fynd difficult enoughe to leade them to, althoughe

they can not lyve without yow, and will looke for a reward, bycause they have eate your meate: for it is impossible for any man of a great estate and of an eminent fortun in the world, to manage every perticuler well, without subordinat instruments. Therefore in some degrees must they be pleased that are yowr overseers, soe as yow make them not masters of yowr selfe by giving to [too] mutch poore in to there hands: an error yow will not kepe out from yow at the arms ende, unless yow be very circumspect and full of caution. If you trust over mutche, well may yow purchase ease, but withall danger of insolency in them, and contempt in the meaner sort, toward yowr commands: if to [too] reserved and over strickt, danger of losse of tyme in the spedy dispatche of that yow have to doe, with contempt of yowr meaner instruments towards them: for if the meaner sort see not trust conferred upon the chiefer, they will soone espy it, and groe to neglecte; on the other syde, if they discover to [too] mutche, they will quickely become there servants in harty obedience, and yowrs but in ceremony. To temper this well, yow must labor as mutche as may be, that your servants opinions of yow be venerable; soe shall yowr commandements be as laws to them, ether out of love or conceite; and I know noe better way, then that they may fynd yowr mynd inclined naturally to iustesse and severite, hiding from them any notable vice yow know to be in yowr selfe. Againe; to content your cheafe instruments, is, to give them hering of that they shall advise: if it happen there counsells to be unsound, shew them there errors out of reason; and rather make a falte in displeasing them, then yeald to that yow know shall not be good. If there counsells be sound, or happen to jumpe with that yow had concluded before in the inward of your determination, never attribute the same to yowr owen witt, but to there advise; soe shall yow please them; since it is against the nature of ordenary men to give counsell, if it be not believed or followed; and most men will hold there peaces, if every hower they be told they are fooles, by [your] not following what they say: for hardly shall yow meete with that love in servants that will always telle yow what he thinketh, without pressing to mutche or saying too littel. Precepts of this nature and somwhat depending of this, I leave to the following chapters for yowr collecting; and procede to my next observation. Yow being becomme your arts' master in this kind of trade,

this mischiefe emongst the rest will consequently be cut of [off] from hurting yow; I meane the indering of servants, a polecy ryfe in there commonwelthe, and a disease that great men are most subject to, and the greater the more subject to, if ether idel in there dispositions, or slack in there understandings; for once bring it but to passe, that yowr servants doe fynd that yow nede them not, and that if one be gonne to-day, yow can make an other doe yowr businesse as well to-morrow,[n] yow shall purchase to yowr selfe from them awe, respect, obedience, carefullnes, love, playne dealing, contentednes with lesse, and indeede all things else that belongeth to this mistery of governing;[o] where, if otherwyse, yow shall be plotted on with combinations, with trickes, with devises of necessyte, as yowr hends will be tyed, before yow know where yow are.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Concerning the second principell that is to be observed, teaching that you should not commit the managing of your estate to the discretion of your wyfe, it in somme sort and in somme cases is not absolute; for I am not ignorant that the wyfe is given boeth by nature and policy as an adiutrix to the man, by wise mens opinions; my censure ayming but of wyfes of great men, not at wyfes of the poorer sort, whoes families consists perhapps but of a man and a wyfe alone, or of a man, a wyfe, somme children, and few servants; in those I must nedes grant that the managing of somme home causes are to be conferred on them; but in cases where businesses are to be directed abroade, or at home, if it be not in tryfles, to kepe there mynds from idelnes,

[n] If the tie between master and servant was generally thus slender, well might Orlando speak with delight of the fidelity which Adam had exhibited from the age of seventeen to fourscore:

> "Thou art not *for the fashion of these times,*
> When none will sweat but for promotion;
> And, having that, do choke their service up
> Even with the having: it is not so with thee."
>
> As you like it, II. 3.

[o] Lord Burghley's advice to purchase obedience from attendants is far more consonant to good sense and good feeling. "Feed them well and pay them with the most; and then thou mayest boldly require service at their hands."

I thinke it not altogether soe necessary; for, believe it, where soft hands are held an ornament, and faire faces must be preserved, nether the hand nor the eie will be farre extended to any busines; whiche will happen for the most part in great mens houses, and therefore in that kinde I will only procede to the handling of this point.

Whoe soe ever faleth in to mutch uxorialytee in this nature, for the most part it groeth out of somme of theas endes; ether esteming there sufficientties at to high a rate;—or for quiet, they desiring to have rule, otherwyse would chide;—or out of ease, bycause the husband would be slothefull and give him selfe to his pleasures;—or out of profitt, knowing the pinching humours of wyfes when they betake them selfes to sparing, that being semely for them to doe, that is not fitt for a man to looke after; other endes I knowe noen to perswade. Therefore let us examine how farre this mater of there sufficienties ought to sway us. Ether it is out of the abilites or propertyes of there boddyes or of there mynds, that they excell in, or else we shall erre grossely to give it way. There persons I will consider as they are, not as it is possible they might be, if ether the Amazonetts governement were a [o'] foote, or Plato his commonwelthe put in practisse.[p] There bodyes you may perceave to be very tender out of extreme humydites, and this doe all our Physitions agree in; soe as there speritts are not held to be of that vigor and robustenes as mens are; for hote and drye spiritts maketh quickest and strongest motions by all mens consents; nether are there lymbes of that abilite to performe; for they are slender, weeke, delicat, and lesse commonly, partely by there tender using of there boddyes to preserve there beautyes, one of there derest treasurs, partely out of modesty, that alloweth them not thos exercises that encreaseth strength and biggenes; and partely by the very groeth of nature, as all femealls are, somme few scratching kinds excepted, whoe have predominant power over the male; soe as hereby may be inferred that Nature it selfe hath forbid that man should surcharge them with businesses that is not fitting for them, althoughe they, out of there ambition, shall affect it.

[p] Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy did not appear until 1621, but there is a striking resemblance between the sentiments on women in this chapter and those which are expressed by that celebrated writer in Memb. III. Subject III. of his work.

* * * *

Thus farre for there persons. Now to the abilites of there understandings let me say somwhat; not that I would detract any thing from there witts, as they are naturally tempered as ours be; nether grant them impossibilites by way of myracle, for ether from above it must be given supernaturally, or they must attaine to it by the ordenary means that all men doe gett it by. There extraordenary inspiration I will not examin. For there ordenary wayes of learning, consider but there educations, and it will appere almost impossible for them to be extraordenary, or nyeghe most men; for upon that point chiefely must consiste the dispute.

A probable inferens out of this generall phenomenon may be gathered,—that seldom it is seene that men growe to hieghe understandings, that attaine not to it ether by discours, practisse, or reading; and I will say, very seldom by any of theas alone, if learning be not the fondation whereby there witts may be soe improved as to make them capable to receave what shall be delivered; for when was it seene, that ever any was excellent in matters of governement, that was not somwhat inseene into the laws of the land? into the common passages and customs of man to man, and into the natures of commerce in the world, that never thought of them? — Marke but womans educations from there cradells, how they are ledde on from one age to another; what there exercises be; what they are taught; the company that is most conversant with them; and then shall we perceave clerly that there bringings uppe can promisse noe deepe insight into matters of knowledge; but sutche as are soone gott and easely learned; not expecting greater matters of them then sutche as will make them as wyse at fifteen as at fifty. And this may you observe generally, that women at very yonge years are as grave and well fashioned, as ever after, for there outward carriage, making smaule progresses in any learnings after; saving in love, a littel craft, and a littel thriftines, if they be soe addicted out of disposition; handsomnes and trimnes being the idol of there harts, till tyme write deepe wrincles in there forheads. In men it is not soe alwayes, thoughe many there be that make very sloe procedings.

There cradel age can promise noe more than other childrens doe, for there usage is all one. After somme few years they may perhaps be taught to

reade and write, soe continewing on till they have learned it,—rather to kepe them from idelnes, the winde, and weathers, then of any intended desire of the parents to make them make there profitt thereby; [whiche will plainely appere in one toy of there education, I meane in the writing of true Ortografy; for how few of them can doe it, or doeth it? not that it is an impossibilite for them, if they were applyed, but that parents make it not mutche materiall for them, and therefore they doe not labor them in it.] And if any doe excell there fellowes in matter of language, (as somme ladies doe,) if it be in Frenche, yow shall commonly fynd it noe farther improved then to the study of an Amadis; if in Italien, to the reading of Ariosto; if in Spanische, to the looking upon a Diana de Monto Maior; if in Englische, our naturall tonge, to an Arcadia,[q] or somme love discourses, to make them able to entertaine a stranger upon a harthe in a Privy chamber.—I must confesse, now and than, somme of the vertuosser sort will cast there eies upon the heigher arguments of the Scriptures, as faith, regeneration, glorification, transubstantiation, participation of meritts, e. c. The rest of there tymes, and almost all parents care, is spent rather to fashion them modest, neate, gracefull, obedient, to draw on the lykings of husbands, whereby fathers may put them of [off] and provide them fortuns during the rest of there lyfes, that must be gott ether when they are yonge or never; for then are they the prittyest;—not leaving them to worke out there preferrements by other endevors, as by learning, the sworde, and other vertues of this nature. Besides, marke but there conversations for the most part, and it is but of nursery company whiles they are yonge, where there discourses are not ever of the waightyest businesses; or if extraordenarily they doe converse with men, what will be there entertainements, but to tell them that they are faiere, proper, witty, and pretty passages of mirth, flattering them to gaine there good wills. * * * * Can poore yonge maydes then thirst after great understandings, when nether there parents forces them to it, when they are

[q] In the picture of Anne Clifford, at Skipton Castle, the following works were introduced—Eusebius, St. Augustine, Josephus, and the Arcadia. It was of this lady that the divine who preached her funeral sermon observed, that "she could discourse on all subjects from Predestination to Slea-Silk." Whit. Craven, 315. "That charm of ages," as Dr. Young calls it, the Arcadia, had reached three, if not four editions, when this MS. was written.

most dociable, nor there owen iudgements afterwards telles them that *that* is the matter must recommend them? How can yow then conclude that there sufficiencies may excede yowrs for the most part? If it doe not, can yow resolve otherwyse but that yow commit an uncharitable act to give yowr businesse in to there hands, boeth to weary there tender bodyes, and to trouble there weeke mynds? for affaiers are heavy, if not well understood; and so the causes them selfes will receave detriment, only to pleas there humors, bycause they hold it disgracefull not to have the hand as other of there neighbours have,—the chiefe motive that spurs them to the desier of being masters.

To the second consideration that hath for his obiect matter of quiet,—an inducement that perswadeth somme men to give way to there affection of governing, and very often hathe bene estemed a wyse consideration of men reputed wyse in the world; thoughe to my understanding I must esteme it a great weaknes in the fortitude that ought to be placed in a mans hart. To discover therefore how wyse they doe, that yelde, or foolischely they that yelde not, lett us discourse in what points wives have poore to give disquiet to a wyse man; and it will be proved merely but to rest in the sharpenes of there tongues, for they can nether strike nor byte, to any purpose; nether offer allmost any crosse of great importance (if men at first woeing be not precipitat in there bargains, making iointers overlarge, out of a littell love, as they call it; or that, lands being intaled, they are to have there thirds by the course of the common law, in whiche case I have found somme crosse to my will, whiche yow I have freed from, if yowr understanding can teache yow the way). For the laws hath given sutche poore to husbands as wyfes can nether alien, sett, lett, give lands without the mans consent, if they have any, (mutche lesse if they have noen of there owen,) during the husbands lyfe, unlesse donne before by way of trust, or by covenant before marriage not to meddel with any of thers; a tye that necessitous husbands are forced to consent unto, and a true means to breede discontentement afterwards: and freinds will be found but inconsiderat, that abetts in thos kinds of deceits, and men in theas dayes will hardly be overtaken, this practisse being now not yonge and not undiscovered; soe as they will but deceave them selfes in the ende, and the sorrowes will be thers.

Lively examples are of greatest force emonge examples to perswade; and examples are nerest to lyfe, that happeneth to men of a liker qualitee, mutche more of a father by way of warning to a sonne. Bycause I have found it, it is worth the rehersall. In my choise of a wyfe, it was long or I made it; I had told 31 years or I tooke one; a tyme not ordenarely slipped by men of yowr cauling, whoe cometh to there livings at 21: my resolutions being grounded upon theas considerations of choise; first, that my wyfe should nether be ougly in boddy nor mynd; secondly, that she should bringe with her meate in her mouthe to mayntaine her expence;—lastly, that her frends should be of that eminency that they might probably appere to be stepps for yow to better yowr fortun. My first ende I attayned to; the last I mist, and grew out of hope within one two years; for Essex and I were at warrs within that tyme, and hindrances grew rather then love.—The consideration of means I thought I had sure; and so did I till 16 years was spent, that the cousenage of a brother in law (a myror of honor to the world), and the deceite of a wyfe and many honorable freinds, as they caule them, did discover itselfe: for, thoughe I was not strait laised in matter of portion, yett, sutche as it was, there was used frauds: a lease of 30 years was granted to yowr mouther from the Queene, of tieths and impropriations; her father-in-law[r] being attainted, and loosing all thus granted, thoughe I married her within a smaule tyme of her husbands desease, theas leases were made over to her daughter, yowr sister-in-law; soe as it was used as a courbe to me afterwards, not yealding to that allowance she required. It is very true, I was suttel enoughe, and knew enoughe of fraudes of this kind; yett did the seming honor of Essex make me carelesse; the fame of yowr mothers vertu made me negligent; the honorable race of boeth of them made me suspect noe collusion, wherein I found many of there fingers dipt in afterwards,

[r] Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, being impeached in 1592 for libelling the Queen and for other offences, was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. He died soon afterwards in the Tower. His estate went by the Queen's favour (as he had formerly settled it) to his son, who married the Earl of Essex's sister.—Camd. Annals. "I hear that what troubles him (Essex) greatly is certain lands of Sir John Perrot's, which is now again called in question for the Queen, who (*sic*) since his death by due course of law was adjudged to be the right of my Lady Northumberland and her daughters."—Sydney Papers, 21 Feb. 1596. See Lodge's Illustrations, iii. 11, and ante, p. 307.

boeth as actors and abettors.—If this example be not lively enoughe to make yow beware, I will give yow uppe to yowr owen losse and folly.

For them to threaten cuckoldry, ether out of seming, or in dede, a stratageme sommetymes used to impone an awe, that will soune be helpt; for if they doe it and yow know it not, it is nothing of revenge to yow, bycause yow know it not; if yow know it, or suspect it, the revenge will light upon them selfes, since yow have means to put of the scandall from yow by separation, if yow list: or if the act be publicke, there can noe dishonor rise to a man by a womans whoredom, being separated: soe as this can be noe way to disquiet a wyse man; and the losse will be theres in present, and there owen children in future, as men may handle the matter.

Somme will obiect farther, that they will be froward and perverse in there conversation and carriage, forbearing to doe that a man would should be donne. All this is nothing, when yow have resolved that they shall be putt to doe nothing but that, whiche, if they doe not, the care is soune taken, having others to execute yowr affaiers, if yowr owen leisure will not suffer yow to wielde all by yowr owen personal act; and the paine is very smaule to lett an unreasonable woman sitt still and be angry without cause. Howsoever now a dayes it hathe gott a fallacious cover by a fallacious terme only, and that is to be cauled a lady of good sperit; whereas heretofore, when ladyes were estemed for the true act of vertu,—of patiens indeede, sutche were nomynated Scolds. Thus may yow see how the fallacye of a terme may misleade a poore ignorant creature.

Since then this trooble must rest only in the strengthe of there tongs, a weake instrument to alter the rational courses of a wyse man; lett us but conceave rightly of them, and I take it there will be found noe cause of disquiet, thoughe they doe talke preposterously and out of order sommetymes; the fault more iustely being laid upon our selfes to be angry, then in them to endeaver to anger us: an affection I must confesse very predominant in them, as it is also in the weakest sort of men. Revenge by way of hurt is more manly than comendable; but revenge by way of ang'ring is fitter for a woman; and happy it is, they have noe greater poore; for otherwyse there tyranny would be insupportable for the tyme of ther passion. I have understood them to be soe violent somtymes, when they could not have there wills, as

to threaten to act many mischiefs upon there owen persons; whiche skilfull men in this trade of there humors have remedyed by offering furtherances to ther threats; as, if they would needs kill them selfes, to give them a knife; if to hang them selfes, to lend them your garters; if to cast them selfes headlong out of windoes, to open the casements; if to sound and dye, to lett them lye till they came to them selfes againe: soe as to this day I could never here of any that perished by theas mornefull deaths.

Theas things are not mutche materiall, yett worth yowr knowing; and therefore I will procede to that part of reason that governs them most. It is noe arguing to them what is good to be donne out of ratiotination, but what other bodyes doe, is there guide: precedents is the thing that leads them. As for example, of there libertyes, not what is most modest for them to doe, but sutche and sutche doeth thus; not what is fitt for them and there children to weare, out of the abilities of there caulings, but sutche and sutche wears this and that; not what is proper for them to give, but sutche and sutche gives this and that;—not that painting is an unmodest ornament, but that paynting is the fashion; and soe in generall, there affections grounded upon what others doe, maketh the fault appere to them a fault or not, and not the qualite of the fault it selfe; soe as faults being more usuall then vertues, there desiers must needs be exorbitant for the most part: and shall not yow then be mutche more blame-worthy in being disquieted at there angers, then they to affect that whiche they conceave to be best? Doe not yow see daly that children affects rattells in ther infancies, topps and scourges afterwards; then dogs and hauks; and lastely better an [and] graver matters, if they be better furnished? Doeth it not appere by this, that affections are but according to the measure of there knowledges? that tender affections are never soe stronge in age as in youth, nor in wisdom as in folly and ignorance. Will yow be angry then at a poore woman that understands littel? Will yow be disquieted if a childe doe lyke a childe, and crye if he have not his will? Or will yow be troobled bycause a woman chides, if she have not what she desiers? Yow know, it is not long that it can last; or, if it doe, the remedy I have ever found to be best, is, to lett them talke, and yow to kepe the power in yowr owen hands, that yow may doe as yow list: soe as in the one yow shall curbe them, in the other yow

shall weary them, when they shall decerne they cannot move yow; for I have often known, men not replying, women have chid them selfes out of breathe.

For the consideration of ease, the unreasonablest of all others, and most unbecoming the nature of a man, declares it selfe at full the weakenes of the condition, having a longer traine of discomodites then any of the rest; and deerely shall yow pay for yowr ease, when yow shall obtayne it by the industry of a wyfe; for I never found in all my observations, since I could deserne of any thing, but when soever the woman did governe, or semed to doe soe, the man grew straight into contempt; and although I know it is a very godly thing, to hold ones selfe constant and loving to a wyfe, indeede, yett withall have I often perceaved, to hold it overprecise in outward shew gives somme danger of an attribute of uxoriousnesse; nether did I ever know any man that was long constant to a mistresse, but lost of his reputation of a gallant and worthy man. Of great use I have known mistresses in a court; when ether a lady governed all, or ladyes ruled them that ruled all; and soe as instruments to colude, or as spyes, they are advantageous often. By whiche may be seene the danger that men incline to, when they esteme them at hiegher rates then is convenient and semely; thoughe they for there own perticulars are not to be condemned for there affections therein; bycause it addes to their glory, when yow seme most to prise them, and to grant them that whiche they caule in there common language the accidents of a good husband, bering noe other sence emongest wyse men, then to lett them doe as they list; to have there wills; and in the ende, yow to degenerate into the imputation of a wittol. Not that I deny that men should not be good husbands in wyse mens interpretations; that is, to use them by the rules of discretion; to give them that is fitting, soe they be not there owen iudges; and to be kind in deede, and not outwardly, with dalliances and attendances to be ridiculously obsequious; for by that means a man runnes into great hazards of scorne, if bystanders see the manner that ether understands them to have playd false, or suspects them that they will play false upon good opportunities. Will not the disgrace of being coxed faule heavier upon him, and put her faults more into memory, then if in publicke he carried a graver and more commanding fashion?

It is one of theas two things must give a coulerable argument of reason, why a man should neclect his owen affaiers, to impone them upon his wyfe, and that is, ether home affaiers of the state, as matters of iustisse; or businesses abroad, as matters of imployments of a great warre; nether of whiche is sufficient; for the wysest men hathe tyme eneugh to heare, and instruments enoughe to execute far waightier causes then theas: and soe have they, if they be commanders abroade; for men commonly employed in ether of the two, are men that petty gains will never make ritche, nether will light wastes mutche hurt; therefore it is inexcusable to be sloethfull in this kind, and to give them into a womans hands, mutche lesse yowr employments being none at all, as most mens are, but merely yealded to out of ease; a monster to an industrious and understanding mynd, and a wonder to me, that sees soe many faule into the absurdite every day.—It doeth foster servants, that continually will disesteeme you; and how can it be otherwyse, when as they by pleasing yow shall nether have place or rewarde; by pleasing a masters wyfe boeth place and rewarde is at hand: and very ordenarely shall yow find it, that althoughe the man assume all poore and authorite to him selfe, yett will servants adventure rather to displease a rationell master then a passionat mistris. Gripe into yowr hands what poore soe ever yow will of governement, yett will there be certain persons about yowr wyfe, that yow will never reduce;—a gentleman ushier,[s] her tailor, and her woman; for they will ever talke, and ever be unreasonable; all whiche your officers will rather endeavour to pleas then yowr selfe, soe as it be not a very mayne matter; and trifles often hap'ning at the years end comme to a greater bulke of expence then greater sommes seldom chancing; and losse will be easilyer gaind by this tricke then yow would thinke for, mutche more when the wyfe hathe predominant poore.

In a house thus governed factions will be ryfe, as well emongest yowr owen servants, as emongest yowr freinds and hers; for her freinds will ever be the welcommest and best used, the traine of women freinds being ever

[s] The Gentleman Usher constantly attended his mistress when she went abroad, and even went on messages to make inquiries concerning the health of her female friends. It should seem from what is here stated, that he was sometimes employed also by his mistress in *secret services*.—Malone.

the longest and most trooblesomme: the backe doores will make lesse noise at the entrance of her servants,[t] then of yowr mistresses; for attendants will be slowe to discover, where no gaine is to be gotten, nor feare to be conceaved, and attempters will be the more confident, when they know all is at the mistris disposing.

One more discomodite lett me conclude this branche withall, that must follow very often if yow be not master, and that is, yowr children shall never be instructed according [to] yowr own discretion; for wyfes will have there wills, and will believe better of there owen ways then of yowrs; and sorry will they be to see there owen faults told them by an austere father every houre, in there daughters.

To conclude with the last motive of geving the affaiers into a womans hands, I meane for profitt sake, an argument likelier to abide a defence then any of the former; and men will find my assertion perhaps rough bycause they may know what it is to be as they are; but seldom can an inferior iudge of the trueth of great mens humors, how it will be putt forward or retiered; not that it is impossible, but that men will not have the will to thinke of that concerns them not.

The former discours hathe suffisiently unfolded wyves disabilites in forraine businesses; to take accounts is hard to them that hathe not used it, nether knowes the wayes nor the methods; and to understand how an affaire goeth abroad, and governe it without passion, is harder then that.—This peece of dispute looking but merely after home busines, and trifles within doores, nothing reasonabely can be said to the contrary, but that wyfes are the fittest, considering that there lyfes at home are very solitary, for the most part. There leisures affords them tyme enoughe to overlooke mutche; in thos things soe nieghe there eies they have iudgement and skill sufficient; they are parcemonious out of nature, bycause gaine in common understandings apperes the greatest happines, and many things about a house is proper to be looked to by them, whiche a man of an excellent spe-

[t] We have here an instance of what is so commonly found in our dramatic writers of this period, where *servant* is the common term for a lover or suitor, who in return called the object of his addresses *mistress*. See Shirley's Hyde Park and Massinger's Unnatural Combat.

ritt will hardely deiect his thoughts to think of. Theas are things mutche inducing to the allowance of it; but if the discomodites shall rise to be more then the comodites that are likely to follow, then are not my arguments altogether vaine, and better were it to lose somwhat then to faule into worse inconveniences. The lesse unreasonable will this doctrine of myne be found, when men shall in a manner doe the same that they can doe; only this will be the difference, that yow shall doe them by yowr instruments, and they will performe them by theirs: for I speake to noblemens wyfes, and not to meane mens.

The great discomodite of all I will beginne with; that is, they will have the commande of all your servants, whoe for the most part will be apt out of inclination to leane that way; for womens humors are stepps nerer there reaches then wyse mens can be; and more wayes there be to cutt the grasse under a womans foote, to overthrow her, then under a mans: and whether ther over-devotion to a mistris becke and a wyfes command leade not on with it a possibilite of contempt,—the nourishing of snakes in yowr owen bosom,—concealing of what would otherwyse be knowen,—disreputation in the world, (whoe are most commonly carried with outward shews, rather then inward trueths, rather with reports of the many vulgar, then out of the secret knowledge of a few of the wyser,) I leave to yow to iudge.—But of this point of disputation mutche hathe bene sayd in the considerations of ease and quiet. The very mane burden of this songe is but to give yow that poore in yowr selfe, that tyme, fortune, and the lawes of nature hathe made yow master of; and not to degenerate it and place it where it should not be, as upon yowr wyfe, children, favoritts, or servants, otherwyse then to make them yowr instruments, and not yow thers. Therefore lett us consider the things wherein a wyfes parcemony is to be shewen, and they will be found very slight and trivyall, unlesse, as I sayd before, to kepe them from idelnes and worse thoughts.

The things that great mens wyfes ought to endevor, and are most proper for them in house affairs, is, to bring uppe there children well in there long-cote age; to tender there helthes and education, and to obey there husbands. Matters of lesse moment whiche they are conversant withall, is, to see that there women, as there instruments, kepe the linnen sweete; that

spoyle be not made of houshold stuffe;—to have a care that when great personages shall visitt, to sitt at an ende of a table, and carve handsomly.[u] If they be sutche as they affect, ether out of kindred or other kindenes, yow shall not nede to doubt but that they will be vigilant enoughe, not to see them want any thing.

* * * *

The kitching, buttry, or pantry, are not places proper for them: a dary is tolerable; for soe may yow have perhaps a dische of butter, a soft cheese, or somme clouted creme, once in a sommer. Poultry and fed fowle I have sene there huswyfry stretche to, in the overlooking there darymaydes; for the commendation of a fatt puetts legge of my Ladyes owen carving, to a good pallate is a great vertu in a belly-gods estimation.

To beginne great workes that will ever be in the beginning and never ended, with a littel wasting of sleave silke, for there pastimes I hold very necessary; and soe perhaps in two or three ages a bed imbrodered with slipps may be fynished; or, in somme lesse tyme, a purse or a paire of hangers,[x] wrought by her owen hand, for a servant, may be ended.—There be thos that have gained so faire a trust as to the keping of the cofers; but I have ever found that empty purses are fitter for there cares then full ones; and hardely shall yow fynd the wyfe of a wyse man the governor of ritche bagges.

Theas boyische observations albeit they be but ridiculous in them selfes, yett by them is apparent the smaule profitt can rise by there oversights; and yett sutche, if it be put to a question whether fitt to be donne or not, noe doubt but it is better to have smaule helps to helpe to order, then none at all; for smaule savings are better then lavishe spendings, all other dis-

[u] Our ancestors most discourteously threw the labour of carving upon females, and Roger North touches upon it as one of the "pre-eminences of their sex," and as alone entitling them to the head of the table.—Lives of the Norths, iii. 305. "There were, it appears, at one time, professed carving-masters, who taught young ladies the art scientifically, from one of whom Lady M. W. Montagu took lessons three times a week, that she might be perfect on her father's public days," on which occasions very laborious duties devolved on her.—Letters and Works edited by Lord Wharncliffe, i. 2.

[x] The belts in which rapiers were hung were called *hangers*. They were frequently embroidered. —Malone. See Every Man in his Humour, Act i. 4.

comodites spoken of before, being salved. Be it admitted that there industryes could save somwhat, and that the whole manage of a house were in there directions; where would the savings goe? upon whom would it be conferred? upon them selfes and there owen backs, if they be loving ladyes, or would be thought to be beloved; the beefe-potts would be translated into wardropps, and multitudes of servants into a few privat baudes, ether to there passions or there persons.—Jewells is a kind of welthe mutche tickells them in two respects; the one, bycause they thinke it draws on admiration; the other, bycause they holde it there owen without account, when a husband shall take his leave of the world. To lay it upon land, that sutes not soe well with there mynds, bycause soe they should leave an interest in the husband, noe poore remayning in them to bestowe it upon a second husband, if nede be: for it is the nature of all women to hate to be thought not worth the seekeing, how olde or ill favored soever: to supply whiche humors, and to cast of [off] that disreputation, welthe by them is mutche thirsted after; soe as if they can scrape up any thing that they may whorde up, it is not for yow; * * * * for it is not vertues that mouves there affections or gains there lyking; obedience is the thing leads them to love or hate. To conclude; there savings, with an example that is very seldom fallible, doeth demonstrat the love to them selfes, without soe mutche respect to there children as they will make shew for; and tell me how often yow have ever herd or seene, that women would perswade there olde husbands rather to lay any cost upon that place that should presently descend to her sonne, then upon that was allowed for her ioynter, how derely soe ever she loved him: and this happeneth not seldom, that the mother and the eldest sonne never agree, when the father is dead.

To shutt uppe this branche of womens governement, whiche somtymes hathe fallen within the compasse of my thoughts, to consider the reason why in this state of England wyfes commonly have a greater sway in all owr affairs, than in other nations, Germany excepted, where there unmeasurable beastlynes of drinking causeth a necessite for the wyfe to looke to the businesse; soe apparent is it in this commonwelth, as writers have scandalized us in somme of there historyes, to be soe uxorious, that to our

guests we offer our wyfes and daughters as a complement of entertainment. —The cause of all this I could never conceave to procede from other roote then our hospitalitie; for where men resort, meate must be had; and where overabundance of meate is, there men will be noe strangers. The mans care, if this hospitalitie be nourished, must be content to trudge abroade, to employ his wyfe at home, and not to spare the heels of his horse and cater in the service: this necessite, I say, layeth a generall rule of the house affairs upon the wyfes of England; makes her undertake seing of things in order at home, entertayning all commers, conducting there guests to there chambers; carefull of there breakfasts, keping them company at cards, with many moe complements of this nature, whiche is not ordenary in other places and other nations.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

To procede with my third rule, wherein you are willed to be the giver of yowr owen guifts, without the intercession or distribution of it by others, is but to make yow master of yowr owen, as it hathe bene desired in the former principells. This will not doe it alone, but will give a helpe to the worke; not ayming to perswade yow to give lyke a God, that looketh for nothing back againe; nor by the strict rules of vertu, that must give only for vertues sake. My rules shall tend to give as one that expecteth a returne againe from them, ether out of obedience to yowr person or care of yowr profitt; or love with integrite; or to ease yow of somme labors yow cannot well undergoe; or to be a diligent watche, least snares may be laid for yow; and lastely, to bind yowr dependents without flitting, that every day yow be not putt to study new men, new humors, new affections. If there be any judiciall considerations in well-carrying the former precepts, in this there is a farre greater master worke; for, credit me, to give well and advantagiously will aske a great deal of art: but how to give, that yow may have the thanks (since it is yow must part with the benefitt), in it lyeth the mistery.

In yowr givings there are but theas agents to robbe yow of the thanks; ether a wyfe, or children, or kindred, or officers, or freinds, and favoritts, taking favoritts soe generall, as it may be any of theas (if yow putt not more trust in any of them then a rationall confidence), and by them one of

theas wayes: ether yow are to be wrought upon by there bestowing of yowr love, or yowr hate; or by bestowing of yowr actions ether to leave this, or take that; or out of yowr expences and government to bestowe graces, eases, favors, by way of connivency; or lastely to bestowe yowr welthe and means in being sutors for others. By all theas means thanks may be cunningly torne out of yowr hands; for there is soe nere a neighbourhood betwene reservation and free counsell, as a payer of sheres can hardely goe betwene them: protestations, vows, and oaths of honesty, sounding all one in bad men as in better. To eschew therefore the bestowing yowr loves or yowr hates, lett combinations in a familie first be broken, if they runne all one cours, or at least there wayes well discovered; though factions in a house is not amisse, if they be well managed; for envy will talke more in an hower, then love in twenty: so shall yow bind or loose at yowr pleasure; for yowr love shall yow have love againe boeth in shew and indeed: where [whereas] otherwyse the shew will be yowrs, the thanks will be thers; out of whiche, contempt will be apt to spring, and yowr secretts will ever be subject to ly open and yowr humors deskensd upon; for who will not strive to know that whiche they hope to make use of. Besides; yow shall but understand *that* they will have yow to know, not what yow ought: soe shall yowr affairs suffer hurt, and yowr person [be] wrought upon at pleasure. Yowr followers will be unfaithfull, when they must weare tow minds in one boddy, and that judgement in choise must needes appere weake, when the perfections or imperfections of them yow doe chuse only lyeth at the ende of other mens tongs; for they will chuse to serve there owen turns, and not to save your honor: soe shall they with there tricks compass there ends, and yow imbrace the scorne; for the choise of ones favoritts is commonly the index to the world of mens affections and iudgement. By this way will yow purchase yowr ease in suffering it; but they will have there desiers, and yow on all hands will be betrayed. Therefore love of your selfe, or hate of your selfe; lett not dreams carry yow, but chuse with yowr owen eies and ears, and lett not other mens commendations worke yowr mynd littel by littel to a lyking whiche otherwyse yow would not have lyked, though yowr owen eies had lookt upon them: for soe shall yow be hedged in, ere yow be aware, with other mens creatures, and not with yowr owen,

it being easyer for many to watche opportunites and yowr humors, then for yow, being but one, to conterworke and discover many, unless yow had the faythfuller agents of yowr owen: for if yowr delight be cast upon men, moved by personal choise, the combinations will soune trace yowr fancies, and the recommendations of "propernes of person,[y] handsomnes of face, swetenes of nature, diligent, loving persons, fitt to serve any prince in the world," will be the clappers that will still tange in yowr eares. If yowr humor tend to sports and youth, yow shall here nothing but that he is active, able of boddy, quick of sperit, well qualified in all of them. If yowr mynde be lift up to matters of honor, (as they call them,) I mean the warrs, then is he a worthy gentilman, a gallant fellow, an understanding soldier, a brave captain. If yow affect matter of state, then shall yow know him to be well languaged, well seene in faschions of nations, a proper man, fitt for employment, and the best faschioned and accomplischt gentilman lyving. If yow looke after profitt, then is he well seene in the courts of fynances, of state matters at home, grave, wyse, frugall in his owen nature, honest in his cariage, ritche in his means, to tye him that he fly not out to a lavische expence, to exhaust yowr cofers: soe as, looke what way yowr humors looks most, this way will the prayses of that man looke, when ther intent is but to give him yowr lyking.—On the other syde, for yowr hate, to be cast on this man or that, as they would, detractions will be plentyfull: all imperfections, and more then all, will be discovered, noe man being without faults; —vertues will be concealed or lessened at the least, whiche is easy to doe, for men are better understanding in evell then in good; the one being a thing that falls within the compas of our learnings easely, the other with labor and payne. To conclude; the man on whom this hate or mislyke is to be conferred, shal be poysoned in yowr conceite before yow shall have time to iudge, whether the vices laid to his charge were iustely or uniustely attributed. Thus shall yow perhaps hate and lay by an honest man fitt for yowr servis, and imbrace a snake in to yowr bosome: for honest men are commonly single, trusting to there owen integrities, where plotters will herde together, to stand upon ther garde, bycause they feare. Be therefore

[y] Have we not here an allusion to Car, whose "propernes of person" had about this period made so strong an impression upon the reigning monarch?

wary, nether to chuse or refuse, till yowr owen wisdom tells yow it is tyme; and then if yow faile, yow that committ the error, must mende it as well as yow can: for as yowr iudgement is, soe will yowr fortune be for the most part, thoughe in somme one case a foole may light of the way by chance, souner then a wyse man; yett beliefe me, error can bring out but error, be it apparant or hidde; and hardely can man be without them; but the lesse the better; and that yow must stryve for.

Thus mutche for the generalyte of this humor; perticular devises to effect [affect] these being as many as yowr weakenesses will give matter to, there desiers spurring them on as opportunites will minister occasions, and as accidents, whiche are infinite, will afford probabilites to perswade ether to hate or to love.

2. The second way of depriving yow of yowr owen gifts is the bestwoing of yowr actions, ether to leave this or take that, sutable to there wills. To give yow to a wyfe is probable will be the first attempt; for then will yow be yonge, and packs will be the easiliest layd: in whiche my first dayes can say somwhat, for almost I had bene caught by the combination of frēds and followers, to have bene marryed to a long sorrow, had not my fortun bene the better; and thanks or pleasures donne to yowr frends in this case and for sutche a worke will rather be estemed by lookers on an addytion to there honestyes then a blott, the matter carrying soe godly a marke in the forhead as wedlock of a yong cupple. Two wayes there are, that manifestly lye open, for them to worke by; the one, by dandling yowr disposition and soe giving yow the raynes, wherein flattery must doe his part; the other, by deading yowr knowledge by way of reservation, wherein combinations will not be to seeke.—Whether it be true that they say or noe, when they endeavor the effecting of sutche a worke, yett will yow fynd that theas will be there wages for the most part. The vertues of her they would have yow to matche with, will be delivered in the best language and the hieghest straine they can, to please yow. Her modesty, education, good qualytes, love, poore, good disposition of parents, yowr ears will be blowen full of. Her welthe shall ever be valewed at a hiegher rate then yow shall fynde it; and have an eie especially to that point; for love growes soune cold, when want caules at yowr doores, and wyfes are not too forbearing to crave in there

owen perticulars; therefore be sure that she bring with her to buy her pins,[z] what soe ever shall happen, or else yow may repent yow. Tyme will telle yow of many imperfections in her, that plenty must make plasters for. Her beautyes and features, her graces and proportions will be admyred and lauded to the uttermost: yett chuse yow a good body rather then a fayre face:[a] for the one will adde advantage to the persons of yowr posterity; the other is commonly a lewer to calle eagles to the carcasse, and many applauders stirs up pride of a face, and pride of a face [is] often the creating of a whore. Her vices yow shall be sure will be concealed, if yow be not the more cunning to discover [them] by good scoutes, or by them that affects an other course, whiche easely may be knowen, if yow be not to [too] hasty, for tyme and envy will say enoughe, if yow will but harken. Be not sparing in cost, if that will serve yowr turne; and a false brother thrust into a house[b] from whence yow are to have a wyfe, may with conveniency be donne, or at least somme in a house wonne to telle yow trueth: and althoughe yow shall not doubt but she shall have good instructions, if her mother be one of those that is entred into the roule of *strikers*,[c] for olde birds teache yonge ones, egges being layd, to hatche them. Beleve yowr owen eares and eyes, and lett noe other chuse for yow, unlesse it be sutche parents that respects not there owen present more then yowr good.

The next endeavor will be to steere an other of yowr actions; as, where to bestwo yowr residens fittest for there endes; for if they be gallants that are delighted with the pretty contentements of the towne, as with love of pleasures, I will not say—whorings; or with gay cloethes, I dare not say wastings of there estates; or merry societes, I may not say bitternes and iestes, to gett the name of a witt; or feastings, to bestwoe whole dayes' thoughts

[z] Pin-money. See Barrington on the Statutes, p. 205.

[a] See the first head of Lord Burghley's valuable Instructions to his son Robert Cecil: "Choose not a base and uncomely creature, altho' for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing in thee. Neither make choice of a dwarf and a fool."

[b] Macbeth's policy, we see, was applied to other purposes besides those of state and ambition:

"There 's not a one of them, but in his house
I keep a servant fee'd."—Malone.

[c] This word occurs in Massinger, but it is there applied to the male sex.

after a morsel of meate, whiche for a world I will not call gluttony; or for good fellowshippe, to whiche I will not give the attribute of drinking drunke; or to see playes, whiche must not be named idelnes in them whose houres seeme wearysom and heavy bycause they know not what to doe with them selves; or to see and be seen, whiche comprehendes in it selfe love of novel-tyes or selfe conceite;—theas kind of men will telle yow that a cuntry lyfe is tedious,—where yowr conversation will be but emongest pesants,—that yowr hopes that are in a good way will runne a hazard, and to bury yowr selfe alyve were pitty, since all mens eyes are upon yow, all men honor yow, all men prizes yow, ladyes looke after yow, all men will follow yow;—when there endes is but to passe there tymes here, by the helpes of yowr expence, or by the grace of yowr favors, whiche beginning to ebbe in ether of those poores [powers], then fayrewell those followers; and soune will they fynd occasions to sever that societee, that freindshippe, that acquaintance. It will not be preposterous to warne yow that gammesters may be remembred in this trayne, as dicers, carders, bowlers, cockers, horse-runners, &c. that will lay yow aboard with there perswasions, and *that* will be for one of theas two ends, ether to cheate yow them selves, or to use yow as an instrument to cover there packs, bycause men of yowr place will be lesse suspected then these whoes necessitees inforces to sutche a trade of lyfe.

It is lykely when yowr years hathe past somme tyme in theas yong pleasures, and that a littel more virilitie hathe taken hold of yow, that the Soldier will be ready to putt in his forte, and beginne to worke towards his endes. They are of two sorts; ether land-men, or seamen, as they call them; and there perswasions will be built upon one of theas two bases, honor or welthe. As for honor, the great acts of the ancients, the worthy deeds of the modern, as precidents to sterre yow uppe with fame,—as of battels wonne, conquestes obtayned, states established, old ones repayred, new ones begunne; glory in the course of there lyves,—power to sway a state, to command a people;—and yowr name eternized by writers, by cronicles,—shall lodge in yowr mynd a desier of undertaking somme littel beginnings, that by yowr purse they may give way to there advancements;—as to leade yow to see this campe, the other army; this fort, that twone; this siege, the other imployment; this voyage, that discovery.—As for matters of welthe,

theas will be there motives;—great commands, advancing those that will be yowr creatures, out of other princes means, as by giving commands of companyes, commands of forts, command of colonnyes, governements of towns, governements of provinces, commands of fleetes, discovery of barbarous cuntryes, easely to be subdued; mountains of golde and silver; prizes of caractes and princes treasors; the winning of ennemyes goods without fayle; and, to shutt uppe the businesse, if yowr selfe will not be the actor, in respect of the meannes of the imployment, yett at least yow must be the adventurer ether of the whole or part, out of gaine and getting. Thus will they talke; thus will they say; thus will they puffe and speake bigge; and know yow why?—not to yeald yow any great returnes, but to use yowr means at home, for them to gett somwhat abroade. This contentement shall yow be sure to purchase,—to be thought to be an undertaker, of an excelent speritt, as they will terme yow; a necessary man for yowr cuntry; and for the tyme of this Maye tyme, yow may looke behind yow, and see a great number of gaye-cullored fellows at yowr heeles.

There are an other kind of men, emongest the rest, that will seeke to bestwo yowr courses, called State-men, whoe thinke them selves soe, or at least would be thought soe. Very witty they are, but poore withall, and want noe ambition. There endes are employments; by employments to ryse, ether as negotiators to terme them mannorly, or as secretaryes or clerks of counsell; or as embassadors, or as counsellers in tyme, or as secretaryes of state, or to other offices of greatnes. Men of theas hopes will worke by theas arguments opportunely putt on, that by yow they may clime: —as to perswade yow to follow a court, in hope of a princes favor; to busy yowr selfe with the understanding of forraine princes affayers, to study the procedings of the state at home; to thrust your selfe in to embassages and employments abroad; it is no matter at what rates, at what conditions; to seeme to be obsequious in what soe ever may take hold, to make a master believe that he is the dearest to yow of all creatures; yea, sommetymes, rather then to want occasions to shew this tendernes and indearing of yowr selfe, iniustisse must be made iustisse, be it with the losse of honor, goods, or lyfe it selfe:—to take upon yow the gravite of a seeming commonwelthe man, must not be forgotten:—soe as all theas arguments are but, as they

conceave them, things lying in the straightest lyne towards there desired hopes. Perswasions they are (I cannot deny) good and noble (as many of the others in the other persons that went before are), and not to be neclected by yow, soe as by them yow be not abused; the rule to save yowr selfe being this,—that if they perswade for there owen endes only, then to stand upon yowr garde; if for yowr selfe only (whiche case I am iealous yow will not oft meete withall), yow have cause to thanke them for there counsell, and to hold them deare; if boeth yowr endes be mixt in the wayes, and the thing good, then it is not to be refused, thoughe not with soe large a returne of thanks for a reward. But emongest theas men there are a sort of pretty fellows that hardly yow shall distinguish from faithfull counsellors, whiche thinke soe well of there owen witts perticularly, and soe generally weakely of yowrs, and all mens else, as they decree in ther fancies to bestwo yowr resolutions at pleasure; and soe common a phrase it is,—"lett me alone," (with somme arrogant iesture or nodde, when yowr backe is turned,) "I will perswade him,"—as it often deserves laughter; where with more modesty they might say, "I will deliver myne opinion, I will putt him in mynde of that perhaps he hath not thought of, and then lett him use his iudgement." Yett this note, by the way of my experience, that as soune as a crosse fortun shall falle upon yow, things not sooting according to there layd proiects, they are gone like lice from a dead carcasse, striving then to shew them selves wyse by being base, excusing it thus:—"to doe yow noe good, and our selves harm, weare a great point of indiscretion:"—but seldom have I found any to prosper mutche with this kind of falling of; for wyse men that love there drinkes well, will seldom venture to putt it in a caske that is tainted with fustines.

Scollers[d] may in somme sort be rankt with theas former, not in that yow shall fynd them soe flitting, or generally soe ambitious, or that emongest them yow shall not fynd somme very honest, very constant, very worthy men, that noe fortuns can beate from yow, if they have but to suffice nature

[d] Scholars in this and many other works of the same age, are spoken of as men of a particular profession, like divines, lawyers, &c. This is a striking proof that scholarship, instead of being general among all the higher ranks, as it is at present, was then confined to a comparatively small class.—Malone.

in a competent fashion: yett are there again of them of many kinds, of many professions, that will desier to make yow the bridge to goe over to there conclusions; emongest whom there are impostures[e] in all kinds of learnings, I will not call them montebankes, whoe ever have more wares layd out then they have to sell. And be not too credulous upon reports of understanding persons, whoe ioyes more in one houres beleife of a falsehood they desier, then in ten houres labor to know a trueth of what is not soe pleasing. "To trye nothing,"—I say not soe nether: but there deeds will seldom answere there bragges, or if it doe, to very small use, and the labor will scarce be worth the payne, unlesse grounded upon very demonstrable conclusions. By knowledge this benefitt yow shall attaine to, of them of the learnedder sort, at least not to wonder at any thing; but that the causes of all things cannot be knowen precisely, or if knowen in part, yett that all things cannot be managed by us as wee would. Theas are the two greate wonders of the world: besydes, I know not any. Therefore to returne to our impostures [impostors],[f] they emongest the rest will labor to bestow yowr mynd, yowr courses, yowr resolutions, if not in a full degree, yett in part, and in som measure, if they can. One note I must annex as a schedule to this discours, and that is, how yow may distinguishe betwene the imposture and the true lover of knowledge. The signes and there markes I have found to be theas. The one in his hart, what soe ever shew he will make, is all for gayne in his proiects, whiche ether by somme discourses, or somme courses, at one tyme or other will lay it selfe open; the other estemes it not but for his mynds satisfaction: the one full of bragges and ostentation, that he may appere full of knowledge by his talke, the other sylent, and contents and pleaseth him selfe with that he knoweth: the one will say it is nothing to understand and not to doe, whereby the world may participate of the benefitt; the other pleaseth him selfe, to know what is possible to be donne, what not, when occasion shall earnestly requier it,

[e] It is manifest that *impostures* is here used for impostors: so that the mistake of printing, "*impostures* to true fear," in Macbeth, instead of "impostors," &c. might easily have happened.

[f] The author had at first written "empericks;" which shews that he used *impostures* for *impostors*.—Malone.

without desier of admyration, reward, or sale: the one cannot endure to confesse to have bene deceaved, where the other will as ingeniously[ε] acknowledge a parologism, faulen into, soe soune as he discovers it, without any conceite of imputation to him selfe: the one will conceale how oft he hathe bene cousened; the other laughs and tells how oft he hathe bene cheated: the one nothing but experiments acted can satisfy the possibility or impossibility of the thing, and yett, when it is donne, the reasons why it is donne lyeth hidde; the other satisfyed that it may be donne, and the reasons why ether in whole or part, or propinque or remote, and therefore cares not to putt it in act, being the gambalds to furnishe clossets withall, when they are donne: the one, thoughe yow be not capable, will undertake to teache, that yow may wonder at him, yett in the ende will teache yow nothing; the other will never presse yow to learne, or ever open him selfe, unlesse he fynd yow capable and industrious, and then very charitable to give yow what helpes they canne, and glad yow will learne any thing, soe as there owen contemplations be not hindered, whiche above all the world they prise: —and believe me, empericks, what maskes they putt on, ether concerning matter of enginns, or proiects to serve there cuntry, or of helthe to helpe them selves or there frends, or essayes to passe away the tyme, having nothing else to doe, yett shall yow fynd, that ether gayne or glory is there end, not knowledge. I may safely say a hasty gayne is hoped for, emongest whiche converting of mettals is not the least; but why, I leave yow to iudge. It is true a mere charity to save humayne nature may thrust somme forwards to act by medicins, to have many glasses, many compounds, of many cullors, to heale all, to kill noen; where [whereas] the others with modesty will promise, to doe the best they can, and will confesse that God somtymes prospers their cures onder there hands, somtymes not; but tyme wearyes theas kind of men from practisse, or practisse in tyme makes them wearysom to men; and he runs a hazard of blame, whiche he shall be sure of, that tryes to kill men without authority. This the true lover of knowledge will tell yow, yow shall fynd infallible, that all things that appere to be, and

ε *Ingeniously* was very generally used for *ingenuously* in the age of this writer.—Malone, and see Nares's Glossary.

are not that they appere to be, will be of very littel use for profitt, andof lese continuance for tyme; as, for man to appere godly and be not; to appere wyse and be not; or to appere fond and be wyse; or *that* to appere gold that is not, or to occult that is gold, and is gold; or stones that is not right, to appere right; or wool to appere silk and is not, e. c. soe that sophisms be never long lasting, whoe soe ever builds upon them; what future discomodites soe ever is tyed to there tales; and if of use, yett once and noe more; and must be acted upon sutche persons as nether yowr wordes or needes shall have occasion to meet them afterwards: for things found false looses there valew as soune as they are donne, and nothing but workes of God and nature will be at heighe rates for ever and ever to continew; for things of use, thoughe common, may laste, and be reasonably prysed; but rarietes common and for few mens use, are sure soune to have an ende of there esteeme: soe as if theas things be dabbled in to satisfy the mynd, they are good, for many phinomes[h] enritche the understanding; but if for gayne, yow will misse of yowr ende; for there are certayne workes fitt for every vocation, somme for kings, somme for noblemen, somme for gentilmen, somme for artificers, somme for clounes, and somme for beggers. All are good to be knowne by every one, yett not be used by every one. If every one play his part well, that is allotted him, the commonwelthe will be happy; if not, then will it be deformed; but whiche is fitt for every one, quere.

3. The third way of tearing thanks out of yowr fingers, is often acted by sutche as yow imploy in the execution of yowr affayrs, be they forrain[i] Officers or domesticall; and that is by there doing of graces, by chearefull caresses, by tendernes of respects, by trusts extraordenary, by continuall conversations, by counsells debated an [and] agreed upon, by praise afforded them, upon every slight occasion to endeare them in the master's eye; and lastely, littel imployments to make them, or at least *stealingly* to make them, necessary for a masters busines, or by using connivencies, as by concealing of

[h] Phenomena seems to be here meant.—Malone.

[i] By foreign officers are meant, land-stewards, surveyors, receivers of rents, &c. Domestic officers have been already enumerated.—Malone.

wastes committed, by bearing, or forbearing to informe, if misdemeanors or riotts be donne, by extenuating complaynts, if they come to a masters eare, or by multiplying of faults in those that be there coryvalls; or by affording of cases, as by appointings of the best lodgings, best horses, best drinkes, best meats, best of what soe ever out of that a master must spend; reddy impresses, quicke payments; helpes before hand; loans, and many curtesyes or favors, as they caule them, whiche to the rest of there fellowes will not be thought soe reasonable to be allowed for a masters profitt: or by giving comodites, as to employ them in sutche things wherein they may gayne; to winke at things gott, soe as it be but in a modeste faschon; not to be to hasty to call them to a strict accompt; not to discover, if petty things be embesiled; not to be to nimble to call for arrerages, thoughe they remayne upon *supers;* not to presse for rents, if it be but a littel that is behind, and letting of lands or setting of woods or other comodites with favor, as they terme it, otherwyse cauled at smauler rates, or to give them the refusall, will not be out of use.

Yow must not strive to mutche to sett all theas things right, for it will not be in yowr power to helpe; only this I would requier, that yow should understand what they doe; that by it yow might have a more common notion, how to iudge how things are carryed, when greater matters comme in question; for truely, by the affections of one man to an other, yow shall have a clearer insight to see whether yow be wrought upon or noe; and every mans endes being discovered and knowen, yow shall marke better the blowe that shall be offered yow: And wonder yow must not at theas affections that are sterring emongest men, how neere soe ever they be to yow; for it is soe sutable to the nature of man to favor those whiche they elect, ether out of the opinion of there persons, or the society of there discourses, or for use, iudging them aptest to execute there desiers; and lastely, there is noe man of how poore an estate soe ever, but loves rather to make other men beholding to him, then he to them, since it is but the commande of men that causes this affection of having of aboundance and of power, once necessites being supplyed: and this shall yow finde generally;—that men loves them best whoe they chuse, and not whoe chuses them; whiche is the cause that begetts the complaynt of soe mutche ingratitude as is in the world.

4. To eschew the fowrth way of stealing thanks from yow; a theft the most materiall and least apparent of all the rest, is, by being the giver or not giver of yowr gifts, without intercession. Whoe they be that are likeliest to robbe yow of this thanks, once more it is not unnecessary to remember; and that is, ether wyfe, children, brothers, kinred, frends, followers or favoritts; favoritts understood to be any of theas, if over valewed: for a wyfe may be loved soe obsequiously as yow shall be esteemed uxorious; children soe tenderly as thought to doate; brothers and kindred at that rate, as yow shall receave the censure of being governed; frendes and followers soe deerely, as to be sayd to be ledde by the nose. But by the way of intercession shall yow better discover at what valew yow are esteemed at[k] in there conceits, then by any of the former wayes of being given away. In this comedy, for other then a play I can not make it, will be presented three actors; yowr selfe, the person spoken for, and the party speaking. 1. If yow play yowr part well, then will yow be thought a good actor; if not, yow must be content to suffer the shame and the losse: for 'creditt me, men, in this act of giving, commonly thanks them more that speaketh for them, then they doe him that giveth them; because the party speaking doeth it for the love of him that requireth it; where [whereas] yow that give is supposed to doe it for his sake that moveth it; otherwyse the party spoken for, his own intercession would serve the turne.

The best way to give, is, to be beforehand in the demands of the asker, if he deserve it; in whiche none ought to be the iudge, or soe iuste a iudge as yowr selfe: and better is it that yow should fayle in not iudging rightely of there deserts, then they to committ the fault in overprising them selves, and soe seeke to be there owen carvers, or there owen iudges.

The next is when the Sutor him selfe asketh, whiche well cannot be denyed them as reasonable to be granted; bycause often askers that deserve well affects oné thing before an other; whos desiers yowr cogitations can not soe iustely hitt, thoughe yow mean them good; for smaule things given

[k] Here we have another proof of that phrascology which Mr. Steevens has positively asserted was not in use in Shakspeare's time. See Romeo and Juliet, Act i. sc. 2, and Coriolanus, Act ii. sc. 1. "*In* what enormity is Marcius poor *in*," where the latter *in* has been arbitrarily thrown out of the text.—Malone.

that contents, spreds the reward by mutche, and yow shall be sayd to husband yowr gift well.

Lastely, yow shall give well, when yow give nothing, if one moveth for an other; for sweete answers, well bestowed, is a great gift for a foole. In somme cases this last rule may be broken, and the recommendation of an other is to be admitted, as when yow are destitute of an actor, for a busines yow intend, the choise being indeferent whoe yow are to elect, then is it tolerable for one to propound for an other; and I must say, he incurrs noe smaule hazard of ether being thought honest or wyse, that recommends, for it is a very daynty thing to give ones worde for a man that may not prove ether a knave or a foole. Somme may reply, that it is true *that* I write; but few men have these iuste cogitations in giving, ether faulting in forgetfulnes or covetousnes, or underprisings, and therefore that masters ought to be prest, by others: to whiche I answer,— that my intent is not to teache men how to handle weake masters, if they have them, but that yow be not that weake master soe to be handled; since yowr ears ought not to be shutt to any man, for he hathe a very poore resolution that dares not heare a man talke, but must be talkt out of his witts and discretion. I know noe sutche glory and contentement in this world, as to be askt and to give, yett still soe to give, that yow may still be fitt to be askt; the troble of whiche yow shall not neede to feare when all is gone; for as having brings ioy with it, being askt, soe to be bankrupt, being askt, is torment: and two maxims I will conclude with, fitt for yowr acting: the one, to suspend yowr answer at first asking with—"I will thinke of it,"—for soe shall yow give yowr selfe tyme of consideration, ether to deny handsomly, or to grant with best advantage: the other, if ones [once] denyed, lett noe importunacy alter yow, for that will lay yow open to be facile, soe shall yow never have rest; and not to be able to deny with a constant brow, if there be cause, is a signe that yowr courage is mixed with a cowardly kind of diffidens.

2. The next actor that is to present him selfe is the sutor that requiers. To lay him open a littel, lett us consider the motives that putts him forward to addresse him selfe to an intercessor to speake for him, rather then to speake for him selfe: by it yow shall see what errors dayly men committ, to doe it, and what disadvantage yow shall give yowr selfe to suffer it. One of

theas two endes tyes them to shrowde them selves onder the helpes of an intercessor: ether bashfulnes or an unworthy opinion he hathe of yowr discretion. Bashfulnes soe participates with fears and shames, as well I know not how to sever theas affections; therefore hand over head I will mix them as they chance, and caule it all bashfulnes, as the modestest tearme. Bashfulnes in sutors is sommetymes caused out of a iealouzy of there owen deserts; for it is the nature of men that are tymerous as well to underprise them selves, as for the audacious to over-valew them selves:—sommetymes out of a diffidens to deliver feelingly at full ther case; for a methodicall tonge and a good utterance mutche tickles a dull eare; and sweete words sways a mynd that is not over seriowsly bent;—sommetymes for feare of discovering the folly of a prodigality past, when once he commes to beggary, if he have bene master of any thing; for griefs of wants are farre heavyer to those that once have knowen what having is, then to him that never was master of that ioy;—sommetymes mistrust that givers' iudgements will not concurre with thers in the desert, and a denyall to a modest man peerces deepe, for secrett reproufes are bitterer to a thinking man, then open reproches to a prater;—sommetymes out of an humor, that men rather chuse to be denyed behind there backes, then to there teeth; for disgraces in covert are disgested with more ease then neclects that are publicke; and, as they thinke, a denyall underhand begetts not so soune a hatred in the denyer bycause he hathe denyed, as when the denyer by his denyall hathe pronounced the party unworthy to his face; for wrongs by not rewarding deserts, or punishment undeservedly afflicted [inflicted], are the forerunners of a greater hatred to follow; soe as it is a greater misfortun to be whipt innocently, then to be lascht for a cause; for pardons and remissions deserves meritt and thanks, where wronges requier to be salved by more abundant graces: and two things masters are hardely wonne to amend; the one to acknowledge a precipitation committed, the other to recompense a wrong with a farther losse; for few men but fryers love to whippe them selves for there synns.

Concerning the unworthy opinion may be had of yowr iudgement, it is plaine enoughe it is *that* perswades a sutor to honor, to follow, to seeke after an intercessor; for men willingly take the surest and shortest way to there

endes; and how can they be sure if they doubt of yowr discretion, and that yowr affection towards them is not over-tender. Is it not lykely then that an intercessor will be in there eye, whiche they imagine can leade yow ether by perswasions or love? for if they have found, to grant or not to grant depende on yowr will absolutely, would they elect other means, other helpes, then yowr selfe? Would not a bare petition serve for a motive, if they understood yow, or thought yow, sutche as yow ought to be? and not esteeming yow soe, will yow not be wrought upon howrely? shall they not ieere at yow at every turne, and scorne yow even to yowr face? Thinke yow, ginns will be unlayd to catche yow in every tracke of yowr humor? Will not discourses of what yow are, how yow must be managed, be the subiect of there every dayes discours? If this be soe, can yow blame them, or thinke them unreasonable, to ducke, to bend, to observe, to bribe, to flatter, to gayne an intercessor that hathe a poore with yow?—Be yow yowr selfe absolutely, yowr owen giver of yowr giftes, and noen of theas things are to be feared.

3. The last personage to steppe fourth is the intercessor. Let us waighe him a littel in is [his] workes, and what the causes be that move sutche to undertake the occupation; an occupation not pleasing in it selfe, for to be the common pack-horse is troublesom, nor mutche acceptable to the person moved, unlesse the personne moved ioyes in nothing but that ioyes may light upon the mover; whiche effection, when it happeneth, is littel profitable to him that useth it, and lesse lyked of the multitude that looks on, and envy will mutche abate the smoothe course of sutche a ioye to him that hathe it; for payne and pleasure mixt together is more sensible then all payn and noe pleasure, and better to be borne.

But to comme to the cause why the intercessors undertake a toyle of that nature, it must ether be profitt, or to close imblocke yow, that they may make there approches at pleasure, or that they fynd yow facile, and soe by consequent there worke easy. For profitt, I must confesse that thos gains are easy and quicke that commes from many hands; the burden littel to them that bribes, since noe man gives in that kind but for an advantage: bagges swell in the mean tyme, for many light gains make a heavy purse; and the principall giver the least thankt of all hands; for willingly men will not discover gifts given in secrett, unlesse to palliate a hegher tricke of

deceite he mynds to play yow: for the more yow understand one getts by yow, the lesse reason he hathe to presse yow directly to give; and I fynd very few soe modest that gayns makes an ende of desiring more, if clennly they may comme by it; since I must still affirme that the content of having and giving is greater then the pleasure of asking, or else nether is there covetousnes or ambition a-foot in the world.

Concerning blocking of yow in, an other ende of there labor, can it be out of other reason then that yow may not see, nor heare, nor know, with other eies, or eares, or understandings, then thers? Shall not then yowr knowledge be lymited within the bounds of ther wills? Shall not yow be the poore lord, and gayne nothing but ease for yowr cost? Will not they becomme the greate masters of all yow have, and must not all have dependency of them? Soe as for feare, or love, or hopes of preferrements, they will ingrosse yowr followers—yowr attendants; and yow [will be] over wrought without fayle: for men are not so sylly, but in tyme to know whiche way the tyde runneth, and, to stryve against the streame, few oweth sutche a harty dewty as to sweate for yowr sake; and none but superstious [superstitious] creatures will kneele to the mynister, if they may have but accesse to the master, unlesse yow be discovered facile.

The last cause to make intercessors hante yow lyke soe many speritts, never leaving yow day nor night at quiet;—for ether by over-awing yow in one kind or an other, will they have there wills, or they will trye for it; for yowr facile nature will open it selfe to there views, by somme of theas means, if with it yow happen to be taynted, ether by yowr having somwhat of the foole, or by a slothefull disposition, or ignorance in yowr owen affayers, or by being over-wedded to yowr pleasures; or out of fears, if yow have trusted beyond all the limitts of a wyse man; or out of a doting love, that may not admitt of an howers absens: by all whiche wayes they will make them selves soe necessary, and yow soe needy, as they will grow bolde, hardy to undertake sutes, for them selves, for others, without meritt: but that master is poore that out of many can not make instruments fitt for his worke in a very short tyme.

To conclude therefore;—be but the giver yowr selfe of yowr gifts, and all theas lyme twigges can take noe holde, nor yow remayne other then a free man, and at lyberty.

XXIII. *A Letter from* John Gage, *Esq. F.R.S., Director, to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary, accompanying a Roman Speculum, exhibited by Sir* William Middleton, *Bart.*

Read 1st February, 1838.

Dear Sir Henry,

THE Roman Speculum exhibited, was, in December 1823, found on property belonging to Sir William Middleton, in the parish of Coddenham, in Suffolk. This elegant little ornament was brought to light by a labourer at work in an inclosure near the banks of the river Gypen, and with it were found a brown earthenware urn containing burnt human bones, and a small vessel of red pottery.

A Roman road leading to an ancient ford of the river passes through the inclosure close to the spot described, being, according to Dr. Mason, the road from Colchester, by Stratford on the Stour, to Caistor.

The Speculum is a portable trinket (Pl. XXV.), consisting of a thin circular bronze case, divided horizontally into two nearly equal portions which fit one into the other; and, being opened, it presents a convex mirror in each face of the interior. The drawing is executed to the full size of the ornament, the diameter of which is 2 inches $3\frac{1}{2}$ tenths, and the depth $2\frac{1}{2}$ tenths of an inch.

The case has, on one side, a head of Nero, and on the other, a very close imitation of the reverse of a coin of that Emperor in large brass, with the legend ADLOCVT. COH., representing the Emperor addressing the army. No legend appears on the Speculum. The reliefs are enchased.

The mirror set in the lower case is larger than the one in the upper, measuring 1 inch and 9 tenths in diameter; both are remarkable for their extraordinary preservation and brilliancy. The reflecting surface of each mirror is very thin, so that the removal of the least portion shows the body beneath.

Mr. Faraday, who has had the kindness to examine the Speculum, thinks that the reflecting face is not silver, and that it contains tin, and no antimony: he being of opinion that the mirror consists of a bronze body, with a tinned reflecting surface.

In the Supplement [a] to Montfaucon's "Livre de l'Antiquité expliquée," will be found an engraving of a Roman mirror from the cabinet of Mons. Mahudel, being the upper portion of a Speculum similar to that exhibited, and having a head of Nero upon it. Count Caylus [b] also describes a circular Roman mirror from Arles, which appears to be of the same character as Sir William Middleton's Speculum.

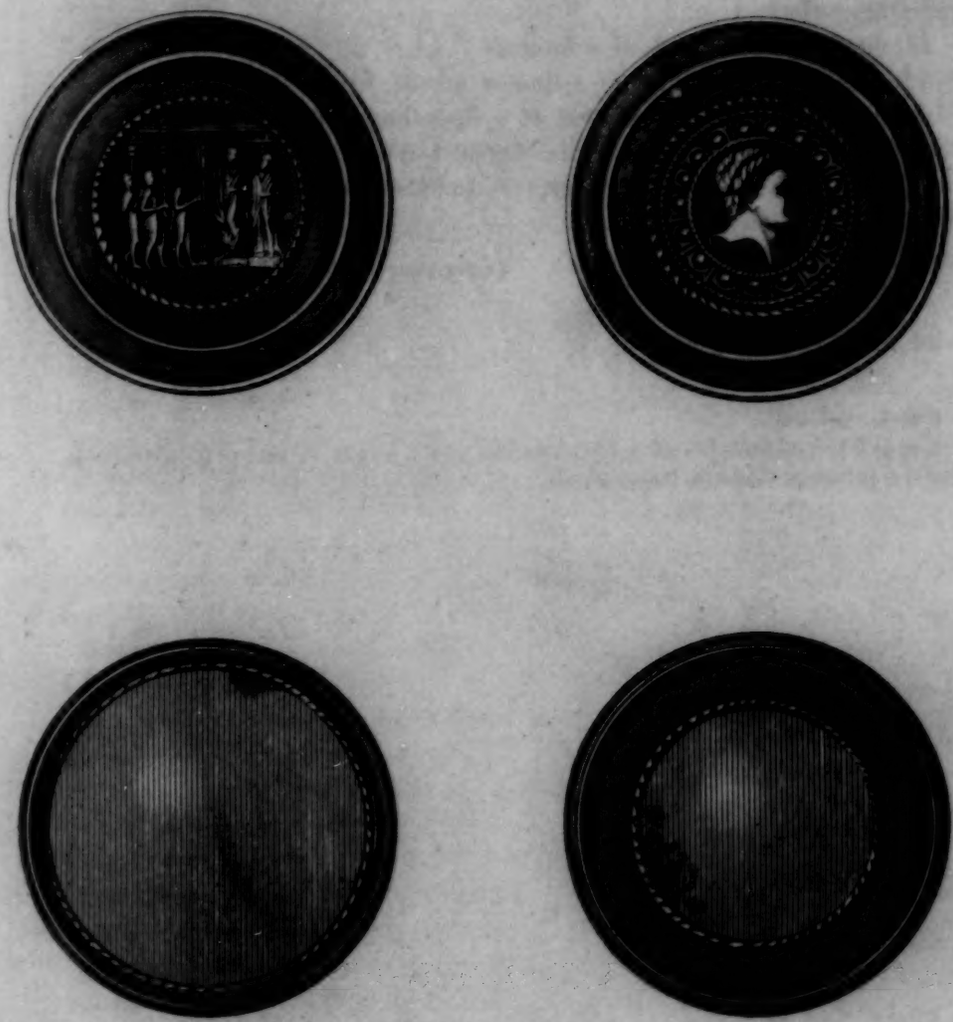
Yours very faithfully,

JOHN GAGE.

Sir Henry Ellis, F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

[a] Tom. iii. pl. xxi.

[b] Reçueil D'Antiquités, tom. iii. p. 331; vide also tom. v. p. 174, an analysis given by Count Caylus of the metals composing Roman mirrors.



Roman Speculum found at Coddenham in Suffolk.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 28th 1837.

J. Basire, del. et sc.

XXIV. *Inedited Documents relating to the Imprisonment and Condemnation of Sir Thomas More: Communicated by* John Bruce, *Esq. F.S.A., in a Letter to* Thomas Amyot, *Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer S.A.*

Read 15th December, 1836.

17, King's Parade, Chelsea,
29th November, 1836.

My dear Sir,

If you agree with me in considering the two documents appended to this communication to be worthy of the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, I shall feel myself obliged by your transmitting them to the Secretary. They relate to that pure-minded sufferer for conscience-sake Sir Thomas More, whose character and fate render any thing which concerns him in the latter period of his life, of interest to the constitutional lawyer and the historian, as well as to the biographer.

It is not my intention to preface these documents with any lengthened detail of circumstances which I am aware are sufficiently well known; but one or two particulars are necessary to be called to mind in order to place their real value in a proper point of view.

Sir Thomas More was committed to the Tower on the 17th April 1534, for refusing to take, *not* the oath of supremacy, as is generally supposed, but the oath appointed by the statute of the 25th Henry VIII. cap. 22, to maintain the succession to the throne in the issue of that monarch by Anne Boleyn. The refusal of More, and various other persons, to take that oath was founded upon the circumstance that the form tendered to them contained assertions of the invalidity of the King's first marriage, and of the validity of his second marriage, and of his divorce from Queen Katharine. If those assertions, which were unnecessarily, and, as it would seem, illegally introduced into the form,

had been excluded, More would have taken the oath, for, it is worthy of remark, that he admitted the right of Parliament to alter the succession to the throne at pleasure.

It was enacted by the statute which imposed the oath to the succession, that a refusal to take that oath should be deemed misprision of treason, and that offenders should suffer imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and forfeit all the goods, chattels, and estates of which they were possessed at the time of "conviction and attainder of such offence." The last quoted words were probably considered to have reference to a conviction and attainder by the course of the Common Law; and therefore, in the case of Sir Thomas More, no forfeiture was insisted upon until it had been authorised by another Act of Parliament passed in the Parliament which met on the 3rd November, 1534. The latter Act was intituled "An Act concernyng the Attainder of Sir Thomas More," and was first printed in the authentic edition of the Statutes.[a] After reciting two grants of lands made by the King to Sir Thomas, by letters patent, dated the 8th May 1522, and the 16th January 1525, and that he had obstinately, frowardly, and contemptuously refused to take the oath to the succession, and had also unkindly and ingrately served the King by divers and sundry ways, means, and condicions, it was enacted that the grants which had been made to him should be null and void; that by his refusal to take the oath he had committed misprision of treason, and should stand attainted of the same; and that he should suffer imprisonment and forfeiture of his goods, chattels, and estates, in such manner as if he had been convicted of misprision of treason by due order of the Common Law.

The passing of this Act of Parliament gave occasion to the first of the documents to which I desire to draw the attention of the Society, and a copy of which will be found in an Appendix to this letter. The original occurs in a volume of the Arundel MSS.[b] which contains various collections relating to Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, and at any event one original letter from the former to Mrs. Roper. This volume passed through the hands of Bishop Burnet, who extracted from it the letter to Mrs. Roper, but took no notice of the following paper, which is, indeed, placed in such a manner as to

[a] Vol. iii. p. 528.

[b] No. 152, fol. 320 b.

be very easily overlooked. It is a petition to the King from the wife and children of Sir Thomas More, praying for his release from the Tower with only such entertainment of living out of his own forfeited estates as the King thought proper "in the way of mercy and pity to grant to him." In its form this document bears considerable resemblance to the early bills in Chancery, and from that circumstance, and also from the style of the composition, it may be inferred that it was probably written by Sir Thomas More himself; an inference which is in some degree aided by the circumstance that it follows in the volume immediately after a passage extracted from a Latin work of Sir Thomas's, in which he had argued, that all perjury was mortal sin. It is not unlikely that at the same time that he sent to his family the original draft of this petition, he transmitted to them that extract as an answer to their affectionate and reiterated entreaties that he would procure his release by submitting to take the oath.

It will be found from the facts alluded to in the petition that it must have been written about the month of December 1534, and that at that time no apprehension was entertained that the life of Sir Thomas was in any danger from the law.

The second document I inclose to you is a copy of the record of the indictment preferred against Sir Thomas More, and upon which he was put to death. In the beautiful biography of this admirable person which formed Sir James Mackintosh's last contribution to literature, it is remarked, that "it is lamentable that the records of the proceedings against such a man should be scanty. We do not," he continues, "certainly know the specific offence of which he was convicted."[c] This is a deficiency which I trust the Society of Antiquaries will think it comes strictly within its objects to supply. With that impression I have appended a copy of the long formal document itself; but as its barbarous Latinity, and its "perpetual iteration," (if I may not follow Falstaff's words more closely,) render it unfit for public reading, I shall shortly state its contents in a translated abstract.

Two copies of this document exist in the volume of Arundel MSS. to which I have before referred, both substantially alike, although with such differences

[c] Mackintosh's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 97.

in the contractions, and other minute matters, as seem to indicate that they were not copied from one another, but derived, either from the original entry upon record, or from some authentic transcript. The only historian who seems to have seen this document is Lord Herbert. The family biographers of More had their information as to its contents from those who were present at the trial. Roper expressly says, "Thus much touching Sir Thomas More's arraignment, being not there present myself, have I by the credible report of the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Saintleger, and partly of Richard Haywood and John Webb, gentlemen, with others of good credit, at the hearing thereof present themselves, as far forth as my poor wit and memory would serve me, here truly rehearsed unto you."[d] This mode of obtaining information sufficiently accounts for the mistakes which have crept into Roper's narrative, and have been thence transferred from one to the other of More's biographers. If it were worth while to dwell upon the subject, the growth of various inaccuracies might be easily traced; but the value of documental illustration is now universally admitted, and such an inquiry would therefore be tedious without being really useful. It would prove incontestably that historical certainty can be founded upon nothing but documents; but that is a point which, at the present day, I hope it is not necessary either to argue or enforce.

The document is in the following form:—

Middlesex, to wit, An Inquisition taken at Westminster, before Sir John Fitz James, Knight; Sir John Baldewyn, Knight; Sir Richard Lyster, Knight; Sir John Port, Knight; Sir John Spelman, Knight; Sir Walter Luke, Knight; and Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knight; Justices, &c. on Monday next after the feast of Saint John the Baptist, by a Grand Jury composed of sixteen persons, whose names are enumerated, and who say upon their oath; that by a certain Act of Parliament of the 26th Henry VIII. it was enacted that the King and his heirs and successors should be taken, accepted, and reputed, the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and should have and enjoy, annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity belonging; and that, by a certain other Act of the same parliament, it

[d] Roper's Life of More, edit. 1832, p. 89.

was enacted, that if any person, after the first day of February then next, should maliciously wish, will, or desire, in words or writing, or by craft imagine, invent, practise, or attempt to deprive the King, or the Queen, or the heir apparent, of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates, that every such person, with his aidours, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, should be adjudged traitors, and suffer the pains of death, and other penalties, limited and accustomed, in cases of high treason.—That one Thomas More, late of Chelsea, in the county of Middlesex, Knight, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but instigated by the devil, on the 7th day of May, in the 27th year of the reign, being apprised of the said statutes, falsely, traitorously, and maliciously, in the Tower of London, imagining, inventing, practising, and attempting, and also wishing and desiring to deprive the King of his title of Supreme Head of the Church, being interrogated before Thomas Cromwell, the King's principal Secretary, and certain other persons, as to whether he accepted and took the King for Supreme Hend of the Church, according to the said statute, the said Thomas then and there maliciously held his peace, and refused to give a direct answer to the said interrogatory, saying, in the English tongue, the words following: "I will not meddle with any such matters, for I am fully determined to serve God; and to think upon his passion, and my passage out of this world." That afterwards, on the 12th day of the said month of May, the said Thomas More, knowing that one John Fisher, clerk, who was then a prisoner in the Tower, had been examined concerning the premises, and had expressly denied the King to be Supreme Head of the Church, he, the said Thomas More, expecting that the said John Fisher and himself would be again examined about the same matters, wrote divers letters to the said John Fisher, and caused the same to be delivered to him by one George Gold, by which said letters the said Thomas More falsely, maliciously, and traitorously counselled the said John Fisher in his said treason, and consented thereto; intimating in his said letters the aforesaid silence which, when interrogated, he had maintained, and communicating his aforesaid negative reply in the English words aforesaid, and, moreover, in the said letters, writing and asserting these English words: "The act of parliament," meaning the act lastly before mentioned, "is like a sword with two edges; for if a man answer one way it will confound his soul, and if he answer the other way it will confound his body."

And afterwards the said Thomas More, fearing that the said John Fisher in his examination should happen to make use of the words written by the said Thomas More to the said John Fisher as aforesaid, on the said 26th day of May, by his other letters, to the said John Fisher directed, and delivered as before, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously desired the said John Fisher to make his answer according to his own mind, and in nowise to make any such answer as he the said Thomas More had before written to the said John Fisher, lest he should furnish occasion to the King's Counsellors to think that there was a confederacy between them; nevertheless it arose out of the said letters that the said John Fisher, having been by the said letters of the said Thomas More falsely, maliciously, and traitorously taught and instructed, and thereby as it were encouraged, afterwards, on the 3rd June, in the 27th year aforesaid, being examined concerning the premises by Sir Thomas Audeley, Knight, Chancellor of England, Charles Duke of Suffolk, Thomas Earl of Wilts, and others, altogether held his peace, and refused to give a direct answer thereto, saying, in the English tongue, the words following: "I will not meddle with that matter, for the statute is like a two-edged sword; and if I should answer one way I should put my life in jeopardy, and, answering another way, I put my soule in more jeopardy; wherefore to this matter I will make no answer at all;" and the said Thomas More, being again interrogated on the said 3rd day of June, in the said 27th year, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously persevered in his said silence, and would not make any direct answer, but imagining to deprive the King of the dignity, title, or name of his royal estate, and to sow and generate sedition and malignity in the hearts of his true subjects, spoke openly the following words: "The law and statute whereby the King is made Supreme Head be like a sword with two edges; for, if a man say that the same laws be good, then it is dangerous to the soul, and if he say contrary to the said statute, then it is death to the body; wherefore I will make thereto no other answer, because I will not be occasion of shortening my life." And moreover the said Jurors say, that the said Thomas More and John Fisher, in order to conceal their most false and wicked treason, burnt all the letters which passed between them immediately after reading the same.

That afterwards, on the 12th June in the 27th year aforesaid, there came

to the said Thomas More, in the Tower, Richard Rich, Solicitor General to the King, and in the course of conversation the said Richard Rich affectionately urged the said Thomas More to the utmost of his power to conform to the Acts aforesaid, to which the said Thomas More replied: "Your conscience will save you, and my conscience will save me." And the said Richard Rich, then and there protesting that he had no commission or authority to treat with the said Thomas More in that behalf, asked him, if it should have been enacted by parliament that he, the said Richard Rich, was King, and that it should be treason to deny it, what would be the offence of the said Thomas More if he should say that he the said Richard Rich was King? and the said Richard Rich further said, that he verily thought in his conscience there would be no offence, but that the said Thomas More ought to say so, inasmuch as he was bound to obey the Act of Parliament. To which the said Thomas More replied, that he should offend if he were to say "No;" because he might be bound by an Act of Parliament in such a matter, which was one with respect to which a man might exercise a discretion. But he said, that that was a frivolous case, and that he would put another case of a higher character: "Suppose it should be declared by Act of Parliament, that God should not be God, and that if any one impugned that Act it should be treason. If the question were put to you, 'Richard Rich, will you say that God shall not be God according to the statute?' and you were to say 'Aye,' would you not offend?" To which the said Richard Rich replied, "Nay, certainly, because it is impossible that God should not be God; and because your case is too high, I will propose one to you which lies between the two. You know that our Lord the King is constituted Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and why then, should not you, Master More, affirm and take him for such, as, in the former case, in which I was made King, you agree you would have taken me for King?" And the said Thomas More, falsely, traitorously, and maliciously persevering in his treason and malice, replied, "That the cases were not alike, because a King might by Parliament be made, and by Parliament be deposed, and that every subject being present in Parliament gives his consent to such an Act; but, as to the case of the Supreme Head, a subject could not be bound, because it was not a thing to which he could give his consent in Parliament; and that although the King might be so accepted in England, the

most part of foreign nations are of a contrary opinion." And the jurors aforesaid say, that in this manner the aforesaid Thomas More falsely, traitorously, and maliciously, by craft imagined, invented, practised, and attempted, to deprive the King of his dignity, title, and name of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.

These are the charges. The record ends with the names of the petty jurors by whom Sir Thomas More was found guilty; and the entry of the frightful sentence of the Law in cases of Treason.

The certainty which this document confers upon the circumstances connected with this memorable trial and condemnation are too obvious to need pointing out, nor is it necessary for me to dwell upon its absurdities; the treason inferred from silence; the unfair construction put upon the letters to Fisher; and the other palpable iniquities with which it abounds.

It is almost incredible that a man who had filled the most dignified office in the State, and "over whom," it has been remarked, "it does not seem that in any moral respect Socrates himself could claim a superiority," should have been doomed to an ignominious death upon pretences such as these. In the minds of those who condemned Sir Thomas More it is evident that the enactments of a Parliament were regarded with that tacit submission and acquiescence which ought to be reserved for those moral laws, the obligations of which are superior to all human legislation. If, to this perversion in morals, we add the violence of party spirit, consequent upon the destruction of institutions long established, and venerable, even if erroneous, we may perhaps account for some portion of the apparent insensibility with which the people witnessed an act of cruelty so atrocious.

It will be observed that two most important points of constitutional law are affirmed in the Indictment in such manner as to prove that they were neither forgotten nor disputed even in the reign of Henry VIII. I allude to the doctrines that Parliament might depose the Sovereign at pleasure; and that every person was held to be virtually present in Parliament, and, by his representatives, to give his consent to the Acts passed.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

JOHN BRUCE.

To Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S.
Treasurer S. A., &c.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

PETITION FROM THE WIFE AND CHILDREN OF SIR THOMAS MORE TO HENRY VIII.

(*Arundel MS. No.* 152, *fol.* 320 b.)

In lamentable wise beseche yor moste noble grace yor moste humble subiects and contynuall bedefolke, the poore miserable wyffe and children of yor trew, poore, hevye subiecte and bedeman Sr Thomas Moore, Knighte, y^t^ wheras the same Sr Thomas, being yor graces prisoner, in yor Tower of London, by the space of eighte monethes and above, in greate cōtinuall sicknes of bodye and hevines of harte, duringe all wch space, notw^thstandinge^ y^t^ the same Sr Thomas Moore had, by refusinge of the othe, forfayted unto yor moste noble grace all his goods and cattells & the pfytt of all his landes, anuities and fees, y^t^ as well hyme selfe as yor saide bedwoman his wiffe shoulde lyve bye, yet yor most gracious highenes, of yor moste blessed disposition, suffred yor saide bedewoman, his poore wiffe, to reteyne and keepe still his moveable goodes, and the reuenewes of his lands, to keepe her saide husband and her poore howseholde wth. So it is now, moste gracious soveraigne, y^t^ now late, by reason of a new acte, or twane, made in this laste passed progac̃on of yor pliament, not onelye the saide former forfayture ys confirmed, but allso thinheritance of all suche landes and tenements as the same Sr Thomas had of yor moste bowntifull gyfte, amountinge to the yearelie valew [of] lx^li^. is forfayted allso, And thus, (except yor mercifull favo^r^ be shewed,) yor saide poore bedewoman, his wyffe, wch broughte faire substance to hyme, wch is all spente in yor graces s'vice, ys likelie to be utterlye undone, and his poore soñe, one of yor saide humble suppliants, standing chardged & bownden for the paymente of greate soñes of money due by the saide Sr Thomas unto yor grace, standithe in dangeer to be cast aweye and undone in this worlde allso. But, over all this, the saide Sr Thomas hymeselfe, after his longe trew s^r^vice to his power dīligentlie done to yor grace, is likelie, in his age and contynuall sickenes, for lacke of comforte and good kepinge to be shortlie distroyd, to the wofull heavines and dedlie discomforte of all yor saide sorrowfull suppliants. In considerac̃one of the premises, y^t^ his offence ys growen not of eny malice, or obstinate mynde, but of suche a longe contynued and depe rooted scrupple as passeth his power to avoyde & put awey, it may like yor moste noble maiestie, of yor moste habundant grace, To remitte and p̄don yor moste grevous displeasure to the saide Sr Thomas, & to have tendre pittye and cōpassion uppō his longe distres, & greate heavines, and, for the tendre mercye of God, to delyver hyme out of

prison, and suffre hyme quietlie to lyve the remanaunt of his liffe, wth yor saide poore bedewoman his wiffe, and other of yor poore suppliants, his children, wth onlye suche interteynmente of lyvinge as it shall lyke yor most noble magistye of yor gracious almoys and pyttye to appointe hyme, And this in the waye of mercye and pittye, & all yor saide poore bedfolke shall daylie duringe their lyves pray to God for the pres^r^vacon of yor moste Royall estate.

No. II.

INDICTMENT AGAINST SIR THOMAS MORE.

(*Arundel MS. No.* 152, *fol.* 308, *and fol.* 322 ^b^.)

Midd', scilicet: Inquisitio capta apud villam Westm', in comitatu predicto, coram prefatis Johanne Fitz-James milite, Johanne Baldewyn milite, Ricardo Lister milite, Johanne Port milite, Johanne Spilman milite, Waltero Luke milite, et Anthonio Fitzharbert milite, Justiciariis &c. dicto die Lune proximo post festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste, per sacramentum Thome Tailer, Roberti Grant, Willielmi Russell, Henrici Croke, Roberti Bowden, Eustacii Ripley, Christoferi Procter, Henrici Grafney, Johannis Grove, Willielmi Grymbilly, Johannis Apswell, Johannis Miller, Johannis Wilkinson, Thome Colte, Willielmi Stevenson, et Walteri Philips, juratorum, qui dicunt, super sacramentum suum, quòd, cum per quendam actum in parleamento Domini nostri Regis nunc apud London' tertio die Novembris anno regni sui vicesimo primo inchoato, et abinde eodem tertio die Novembris usque ad Villam Westm' in comitatu Midd' prorogato, et postea, per diversas prorogaciones, usque ad et in tertium diem Novembris anno regni sui vicesimo sexto continuato, et tunc apud dictam villam Westm' tento, editum, inter cetera, auctoritate eiusdem parleamenti inactitatum sit, quòd idem Dominus rex, heredes et successores sui, huius regni reges accepti, acceptati et reputati erunt unicum Supremum Caput in terra Anglicane Ecclesie, habebuntque et gaudebunt, annexum et unitum imperiali corone huius regni, tam titulum et stilum inde quàm omnia honores, dignitates, preeminentias, privelegia, auctoritates, immunitates, commoda et commoditates dicte dignitati Supremi Capitis eiusdem Ecclesie incumbentia et pertinentia, prout in eodem actu, inter alia, plenius continetur; Cùmque etiam per quendam alterum actum, in dicto parleamento dicto anno vicesimo sexto tento, editum, inter cetera inactitatum sit, quòd si aliqua persona, aut alique persone, post primum diem Februarii tunc proximi sequentis, maliciose optaverit, voluerit, seu desideraverit per verba vel scripta, aut arte imaginaverit, inventaverit, practitaverit, sive attemptaverit, aliquod damnum corporale fiendum aut committendum regalissime persone domini Regis, Regine,

aut eorum heredibus apparentibus, vel ad deprivandum eos, aut eorum aliquem, de dignitate, titulo, seu nomine regalium statuum suorum, quod quelibet talis persona et persone, sic offendentes in aliquo premissorum post dictum primum diem Februarii, atque eorum auxiliatores, consentores, consiliarii et abettatores, inde legitime convicti existentes, secundum leges et consuetudines huius regni adiudicabuntur proditores, et quod quelibet talis offensa in aliquo premissorum que committeretur aut fieret, post dictum primum diem Februarii, reputabitur, acceptabitur, et adjudicabitur alta prodicio, et offensores in eisdem, ac eorum auxiliatores, consentores, consiliarii, et abbettatores, legitime convicti existentes de aliqua tali offensa qualis predicitur, habebunt et pacientur tales penas mortis, et alias penalitates quales limitate sunt et consuete in casibus alte prodicionis, prout in dicto altero actu manifeste patet.

Quidam tamen Thomas More, nuper de Chelchithe, in comitatu Midd', miles, Deum pre oculis non habens, sed instigatione diabolica seductus, septimo die Maii anno regni dicti domini vicesimo septimo, statutorum predictorum satis sciolus, false, proditorie, et maliciose, apud Turrim London', in comitatu predicto, imaginans, inventans, practitans et attemptans, atque volens, et desiderans, contra legiancie sue debitum, prefatum serenissimum dominum nostrum regem de dignitate, titulo, et nomine statûs sui regalis, videlicet, de dignitate, titulo et nomine suis Supremi Capitis in terra Anglicane Ecclesie, deprivare, dicto septimo die, apud dictam Turrim London', in Comitatu predicto, coram Thoma Cromwell armigero, primario Secretario Domini Regis, Thoma Bedell clerico, Johanne Tregonwell legum Doctore, Consiliariis dicti Domini Regis, et coram diversis aliis personis ejusdem domini Regis veris subditis, per mandatum ipsius Domini Regis examinatus et interrogatus, an ipse eundem Dominum Regem Supremum Caput in terra Ecclesie Anglicane accipiebat, acceptabat, et reputabat, et eum sic accipere, acceptare, et reputare, vellet, secundum formam et effectum statuti predicti prius recitati, idem Thomas tunc et ibidem maliciose penitus silebat, responsumque directum ad illud interrogatorium facere recusabat, et hec verba Anglicana sequentia dictis domini Regis veris subditis adtunc et ibidem edicebat, videlicet, "I will not medle with any such matters, for I am fully determined to serve God, and to thinke upon his passion and my passage out of this world;" posteaque, videlicet duodecimo die dicte mensis Maii, anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, prefatus Thomas More, sciens quendam Johannem Fissher clericum, tunc, et diu antea, in dicta Turri London', pro diversis grandibus misprisionibus per ipsum Johannem erga dicti domini nostri Regis regiam Majestatem perpetratis, fore incarceratum et detentum, ac per dictos domini Regis veros subditos, de eius acceptione, acceptacione, et reputacione, eiusdem domini Regis in premissis fuisse examinatum, eundemque Johannem Fissher false, proditorie, et maliciose, expresse negasse prefatum dominum Regem sic accipere, acceptare, et reputare, Supremum Caput in terra Ecclesie Anglicane fore, idemque Thomas More, existimans se ipsum et prefatum Johannem

Fissher de premissis alias ex verisimili tunc fore examinandos et interrogandos, diversas literas dicto duodecimo die Maii, apud dictam Turrim London', in predicto Comitatu Midd', continuando maliciam suam predictam, false, maliciose, et proditorie scripsit, easque prefato Johanni Fissher in dicta Turri London' tunc existenti porrexit, et, per quendam Georgium Gold, eisdem die, anno, et loco transmitti et deliberari fecit; per quas quidem literas predictas predictus Thomas More false, maliciose, et proditorie prefatum Johannem Fissher in dicta eius falsa prodicione consulebat et consentiebat, et, per easdem intimans eidem Johanni dictum silentium quod idem Thomas More ut prefertur interrogatus habuisset, responsumque suum negatum, in verbis Anglicanis supra scriptis expressis verbis scriptis revelans, et, insuper, per easdem literas false, proditorie, et maliciose scribens et asserens hec verba Anglicana, videlicet, "The acte of parleament" (dictum actum posterius recitatum innuens) "ys lyke a swerd with two edges, for if a man answer one waye it will confound his soule, and if he answer the other way it will confound his body;" postmodum prefatus Thomas More, metuens ne contingeret prefatum Johannem Fissher in ejus responso, supra iterata examinacione ipsius Johannis fienda, predicta verba, per ipsum Thomam eidem Johanni Fissher ut prefertur scripta, consiliariis dicti domini regis eloqui, idem Thomas More, apud Turrim London' predictam, vicesimo sexto die Maii anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, per eius alias litteras scriptas et prefato Johanni Fisher directas, et apud Turrim London' deliberatas, eundem Johannem Fissher false, maliciose et proditorie desiderabat, quatenus idem Johannes responsum suum secundum ejus proprium animum faceret, et cum aliquo tali responso quale idem Thomas prefato Johanni Fissher antea scripsisset nullatenus intromitteretur, ne forsan dictis consiliariis domini Regis occasionem putandi præberet quod equalis erat inter eosdem Thomam et Johannem consideratio. Attamen, ex dictis literis prefati Thome More prius scriptis, et dicto Johanni Fissher ut præmittitur porrectis et deliberatis, ita insecutum est, videlicet, idem Johannes Fissher, per dictas literas prefati Thome More false, maliciose, et proditorie doctus, et instructus, et exinde quodammodo animatus, postea, videlicet, tertio die Junii anno vicesimo septimo supra dicto, apud Turrim London' predictam, per Thomam Audeley militem, Cancellarium Anglie, Carolum Ducem Suff', Thomam Comitem Wiltes', dicti Domini Regis nobiles subditos et consiliarios, et alios eiusdem domini Regis venerabiles subditos et consiliarios, denuo de premissis examinatus et interrogatus, penitus silebat, responsumque directum ad id facere nolebat, sed hec Anglicana verba sequentia adtunc et ibidem dictis nobilibus et venerabilibus domini Regis subditis et consiliariis false, proditorie, et maliciose edicebat, videlicet, "I will not medle with that matter, for the Statute ys like a two edged swerd, and, if I should answer one way, I should put my life in ieoperdy, and, answering another way, I put my soule in more ieoperdy; wherefore, to this matter I will make no answer at all." Prefatusque Thomas More, dicto tertio die Junii, anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, apud Turrim

predictam, per dictos domini Regis nobiles et venerabiles subditos et consiliarios iterum de premissis interrogatus, in dicto ejus silentio false, maliciose, et proditorie adtunc et ibidem perseverabat, directumque responsum ad premissa facere nolebat, immo false, proditorie, et maliciose, adtunc et ibidem imaginans, inventans, practitans, et attemptans, atque volens, et desiderans, prefatum Dominum nostrum regem de dignitate, titulo et nomine status sui regalis supradicti deprivare, seditionemque et malignitatem in cordibus verorum subditorum domini Regis erga eundem dominum regem inserere et generare, prefatis nobilibus et venerabilibus dicti Domini Regis subditis et consiliariis adtunc et ibidem subsequentia verba Anglicana palam dicebat, videlicet, " The law and statute whereby the King is made Supreame Head, as is aforesaid, be like a swerd with two edges; for, if a man say that the same lawes be good, then is it dangerous to the soule; and if he say contrary to the said statute, then is it deathe to the body. Wherfore I will make therto no other answer because I will not be occasion of shortenyng my life." Et insuper juratores predicti dicunt, quod predicti Thomas More et Johannes Fissher, ad eorum supradictum falsum et nefandissimum proditorium propositum celandum, omnes et omnimodas literas alterutrum scriptas et deliberatas, et eorum unus et alter, immediate post lecturas earundem combussit. Et, post hec omnia et singula premissa, ut premittitur peracta et dicta, videlicet, duodecimo die Junii, anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, accessit ad prefatum Thomam More, in predictam Turrim London', Ricardus Riche, Generalis Solicitor dicti Domini Regis, habitoque, tunc et ibidem, inter eosdem Thomam More et Ricardum Riche colloquio, de diversis premissa tangentibus, idem Ricardus Riche caritative movebat prefatum Thomam More, quatenus se vellet, actibus et legibus suprascriptis conformare; ad quod idem Thomas, respondendo prefato Ricardo Riche, dicebat, " Conscientia vestra salvabit vos, et conscientia mea salvabit me." Prefatusque Ricardus Riche, adtunc et ibidem protestans quod tunc non habebat commissionem, sive mandatum, cum eodem Thoma More de materia illa tractare, sive communicare, eundem Thomam More adtunc et ibidem interrogabat, si inactitatum fuisset auctoritate parleamenti quod idem Ricardus Riche erat rex, et quod si quis id negaret prodicio esset, qualis esset offensa in prefato Thoma More si idem Thomas diceret quod prefatus Ricardus Riche erat rex, pro certo, ulterius dicebat idem Ricardus Riche, in conscientia ejus quod nulla esset offensa, sed quod idem Thomas More obligatus erat sic dicere, et eundem Ricardum acceptare pro eo quod consensus prefati Thome More per actum parleamenti erat obligatus. Ad quod prefatus Thomas More, adtunc et ibidem respondens, dicebat, quod ipse offenderet si diceret non, quia obligatus esset per actum pro eo quod consensum suum ad id præbere potuit, sed dicebat quod idem casus erat casus levis; quamobrem idem Thomas adtunc et ibidem prefato Ricardo Riche dicebat, quod ipse alium casum sublimiorem proponere vellet, sic dicens, " Posito quod per parleamentum inactitatum foret quod Deus non esset Deus, et quod si quis impugnare vellet, actum illum foret

prodicio, si interrogaretur questio a vobis, Ricarde Riche, velitis dicere quod Deus non esset Deus accordante statuto, et si sic diceretis, non offenderetis?" Ad quod idem Ricardus, respondens prefato Thome More, adtunc et ibidem dicebat; "Immo, pro certe; quia impossibile est fieri quod Deus non esset Deus. Et quia casus vester adeo sublimis existit, proponam vobis hunc casum mediocrem, videlicet, novistis quia dominus noster rex constitutus est Supremum Caput in terra Ecclesie Anglicane, et quare non deberetis vos, Magister More, eum sic affirmare et acceptare, tam sic quam in casu premisso quo ego prefectus eram rex, in quo casu conceditis quod obligamini me sic affirmare et acceptare regem?" Ad quod prefatus Thomas More false, proditorie, et maliciose in dictis ejus proditione et malicia perseverans, predictumque ejus proditorium et maliciosum propositum et appetitum preferre et defendere volens, prefato Ricardo Riche adtunc et ibidem sic respondebat, videlicet, quod casus illi non erant consimiles, quia, rex per parleamentum fieri potest, et per parleamentum deprivari potest, ad quem actum quilibet subditus ad parleamentum existens suum prebet consensum, sed, ad primacie casum, subditus non potest obligari, quia consensum suum ab eo ad parleamentum prebere non potest; et, quamquam rex sic acceptus sit in Anglia plurime tamen partes extere idem non affirmant." Sicque juratores predicti dicunt, quod prefatus Thomas More false, proditorie, et maliciose, arte imaginavit, inventavit, practitavit, et attemptavit prefatum serenissimum Dominum nostrum Regem de dictis dignitate, titulo et nomine Supremi Capitis in terra Anglicane Ecclesie penitus deprivare, in ipsius Domini Regis contemptum manifestum, et corone sue regie derogationem, contra formam et effectum statutorum predictorum, et contra pacem ejusdem Domini Regis.

JURATORES.

Thomas Palmer, miles.	Willielmus Browne, armiger.
Thomas Sperte, miles.	Jasper Leake, armiger.
Georgius Lovell, armiger.	Thomas Billington, armiger.
Thomas Burbage, armiger.	Johannes Parnell, gent'.
Galfridus Chamber, gent'.	Ricardus Bellamy, gent'.
Edwardus Stokwod, gent'.	Georgius Stok, gent'.

Consideratum est, quod predictus Thomas More ducatur per prefatum Willielmum Kyngston, deputatum &c. usque Turrim London'. Et inde, per medium civitatis London', directe usque ad furcas de Tiborne trahatur; et super furcas illas ibidem suspendatur, et, vivens, ad terram prosternatur; et interiora sua extra ventrem suum capiantur, ipsoque vivente comburentur; et caput ejus amputetur; quodque corpus ejus in quatuor partes dividatur; et quod caput et quarteria sua ponantur ubi Dominus Rex assignare voluerit, &c.

XXV. *Remarks on the Matrix of the Seal of Boxgrave Priory, in Sussex; by Sir* Frederic Madden, *K.H. F.R.S. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S. Sec. S.A.*

Read 9th March, 1837.

My dear Sir, British Museum, March 6, 1837.

ABOUT six years ago I had the pleasure of submitting to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, by the hands of our worthy Treasurer, impressions from the very curious matrix of the Seal of Southwick Priory in Hampshire; engravings of which, accompanied by some observations, were inserted in the twenty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, pp. 374-379. At that period I stated truly that it was the only existing matrix of a very peculiar mode of forming conventual Seals; but recently another instance has been discovered, some account of which may not be unacceptable. Some laborers at work in excavating a railway, the precise locality of which has not been ascertained, are stated to have dug up an earthen pot or urn, in which were found two original matrices of brass, which subsequently came into the hands of Mr. Chamberlain, optician, of Broad Street, St. Giles's, in whose possession they now are, and by whose leave I am able to lay impressions of them before the Society. The most important proves to be the Seal of the Benedictine Priory of Boxgrave, in Sussex, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Blaise; the foundation of which by Robert de Haye took place in the reign of Henry the First, when it was annexed as a cell to the monastery of Essay, in Normandy; and although ordered to be suppressed in 1414, together with the other alien priories, continued to exist till the final dissolution under Henry the Eighth.

No ancient impressions from it are known to exist (although it is probable some may yet be found attached to charters in private hands), for the imperfect seal of this Priory, described in the Monasticon, vol. iv. p. 643, as annexed to a lease in the Augmentation Office, dated 24 Hen. VIII. is not from the matrix in question, but from an earlier one, as will appear on comparison. The present matrix is very remarkable, as affording another example, in addition to those of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Southwick, of that difficult mode of preparing seals, by which the impress on the dors of the one half was introduced into the face of the corresponding half. It exhibits also some peculiarities of structure, which are deserving of notice, and which I shall proceed to describe.

The matrix (Pl. XXVI.) is of an oval shape, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth, and consists of two distinct pieces, the lower half of which (*b*) has two loops at each end, between which, in preparing an impression, the single loop of the upper half (*a*) is inserted; but there is no reason to believe there ever was a revolving pivot or wire through the loops, as it would have prevented the pieces from working round. On the face of (*a*), forming the *obverse* of the Seal, is represented the front of a monastic building, similar in its details to those on many seals of the latter half of the thirteenth century. In the upper part, within a trefoil, is the head of Jesus Christ in the act of benediction; in the middle, under canopies, appear whole-length figures of Gabriel and the Virgin, with the half figure of a monk in smaller niches on either side, in the attitude of prayer; whilst below, in a quatre-foil, we have the head of a Bishop, probably intended for Blaise, the patron saint. Around is the following legend:

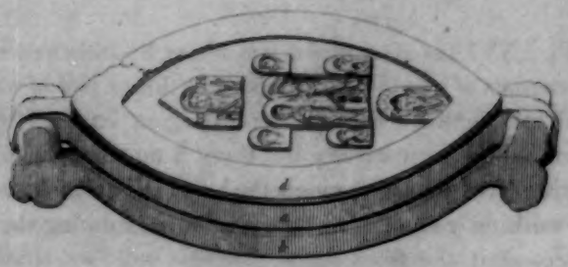
SIGILL' . ECCL'E : SCE : MARIE : SCIQ, : BLASII : DE : BOXGRAVA :

Sigillum ecclesie Sancte Marie Sanctique Blasii de Boxgrava.

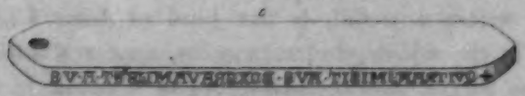
On the exterior, or dors, of this piece, are engraved in compartments, raised above the ground, similar figures and heads to those just described, and which, in fact, were originally designed by the maker of the seal to occupy their places when the impression was made. They are rather larger, and of earlier execution. On each side of the head of Christ appear the letters A Ω;

a (face)

b (face)



c



b (dors)

a (dors)

Matrix of the Seal of Boxgrave Priory in Sussex.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 21st April, 1836.

two additional heads (perhaps meant for Peter and Paul) are designed to fill the spaces which are occupied on the obverse by plain quatre-foils; between the angel and the virgin is a scroll with the words AVE MARIA, and an altar or portiforium below; and instead of the mere head of Bishop Blaise, we have his half-length, holding a crosier, and his name, apparently, engraved above. The face of the corresponding half (*b*) forming the *reverse* of the seal, represents the Virgin seated under a trefoil canopy, with the infant Jesus in her lap, and holding up in her right hand a fleur-de-lis, or lilly. On either side of her are trees with birds on them, and her feet rest, as in the instance of the seal of Merton Priory, on an elegantly ornamented corbel. Round the marginwe read a rhyming legend, as follows:

+ DICIT · ЄX · LIGNO : UIRIDI · BOXG̃VIA DIGNO ·
Dicitur ex ligno viridi Boxgravia digno,

N̂OIЄ · N̂A · CRЄSCIT · V̇RTVTıB⁹ · A̅ Q, · VIRЄSCIT.
Nomini nam crescit, virtutitibus atque virescit.

On the dors are eight blank compartments of different shapes, raised from the ground, and destined to cover the corresponding places on the obverse of the Seal.

Now the mode of making an impression from this four-surfaced matrix, according to the original design of its fabricator, was evidently thus. A layer of wax was spread on the face of (*b*), on which was laid the dors of (*a*) thereby impressing the wax on both sides, and forming one half of the seal. Another layer was then spread on the face of (*a*), on which was laid the dors of (*b*), impressing both sides, and forming the other half of the seal. This will be more clearly exemplified by an inspection of the impressions I have had made. The two halves were now joined together, precisely as in the case of the Southwick Seal, when by breaking through the compartments marked out by the dors of (*b*), the figures on the dors of (*a*) appear through, and form, as it were, part of the obverse. This process, as in all similar cases, where the seal consisted of two distinct pieces joined together, would make the edge of considerable thickness; to cover which, and to conceal the mark of junction, a legend was impressed on it, as in the examples furnished us by the seals of

Christ Church,[a] Merton,[b] Norwich,[c] Rochester,[d] St. Edmund's Bury,[e] and perhaps some others.[f] In my former communication on this subject I conjectured that this legend on the edge was impressed by a *lamina* of metal, either circular or oval. I was partly right in this supposition, but the form was not oval or circular, but straight and flat, as proved by the lamina of the Boxgrave matrix, which, very fortunately, was found with it, and which in all probability is the only surviving specimen. This lamina is of brass, rather more than four inches in length by $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in width, and $\frac{1}{8}$ in thickness. (See the Plate.) On either edge, is engraved longitudinally a rhyming legend, which exactly filled up the edge of the seal; to be read thus:

+ QVI . TRANSMISIT · AVE · BOXGRAVAM · LIBERET · A · VE :
Qui transmisit Ave, Boxgravam liberet à væ,
+ IVDICIVMQ : GRAVE : NON : SENTIAT · IMMO : SVAVE :
Judiciumque grave non sentiat, immo suave!

The allusion, no doubt, is to the Salutation of the Virgin, represented on the reverse of the Seal.

It is evident, therefore, that the original fabricator of the matrix designed to accomplish by two pieces what in the case of the Southwick seal was done by three, but without the same success; for, from a close inspection of the pieces as they now appear, it is also evident, that the monks of Boxgrave, on account probably of the difficulty of making impressions in the manner described, caused some alterations to be made in the matrix, and confined themselves to the easy method of taking a simple obverse and reverse. This conclusion is drawn from the following considerations: The eight compartments on the face of (*a*), now occupied by heads and figures, were no doubt originally left blank as in the Southwick seal, and were raised higher than they appear at present;

[a] Cott. Chart. xxi. 11. [b] Cott. Chart. xxi. 25. [c] Topham, Chart. 43.
[d] Cott. Chart. iv. 53. [e] Cott. Chart. xxi. 7.
[f] It is to be regretted that in most of these instances the legend on the margin is so imperfect as to be nearly illegible. That on the seal of Norwich is interesting, from its containing the date when the seal itself was made: ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO DVCENTESIMO QUINQUAGESIMO OCTAVO FACTVM EST HOC SIGILLUM. See an engraving in Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. ii. fol. Norw. 1745.

but on determining to give up the use of the corresponding figures on the dors, these compartments were cut down, and engraved in a similar manner. The natural consequence is, that at present it is almost impossible to make an impression as originally designed, since, from the compartments being lowered, the thickness of the wax over those parts becomes so much greater, that they cannot be broken through without the risk of destroying the remainder. But this is not all. For some cause or other the monks seem to have been dissatisfied with the original legend on the face of (*b*), and subsequently caused the whole to be cut off, and a new collar of brass soldered on in its place, on which was engraved the legend as it now appears. The soldering is executed very neatly, but is clearly perceptible, and the legend itself betrays marks of more recent execution than the one on the obverse. There still remained an additional piece of work; for on applying the dors of (*a*) to the face of (*b*), the monks found that in consequence of the margin of the dors having been originally cut down, for the purpose of obtaining a sharper impress of the reverse, there was now not sufficient pressure on the newly executed legend to bring it up, and consequently another plain collar of brass was made, and soldered on to the dors, so as to make the superficies level. This collar, from the effect of damp, and the *ærugo* it contracted whilst buried, was loose when discovered, and is now detached from the matrix.

The second matrix, found with the preceding, is also oval, and of rather earlier workmanship, consisting of a single piece, with a shank on the back, pierced with a trefoil to hold it by, when making an impression. On it is represented a female figure standing, and holding, apparently, a box to receive alms. Round the margin we read very distinctly:

S' · S' · RADЄG' · LЄ℘SAR' · DЄ LOCOVЄR' ·
Sigillum Sanctæ Radegundis Leprosarum de Locovere,

FR'M Є℣ SOR' · ЄIVSD' · LOCI.
Fratrum et Sororum ejusdem loci.

I have looked in vain into the Monasticon and Tanner, to discover the locality of this Hospital for leprous persons, dedicated to St. Radegund, and shall be glad to find it receive illustration from any other member of the Society.

I have only, before I conclude, to express my thanks to Mr. Doubleday, for furnishing me with the impressions here exhibited, and for his practical remarks on their formation.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

F. MADDEN.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

XXVI. *Observations on the mode adopted by Masons at various and distant periods in forming a Straight Head over an Aperture. By* Sydney Smirke, *Esq. F.S.A., in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 1st February, 1838.

Dear Sir, 12, Regent Street, Feb. 1, 1838.

It was remarked by the late eminent engineer, Mr. Milne, that in his tour through the classical regions of Europe, he derived more professional benefit from an examination of the construction of ancient masonry than from any other subject that engaged his attention. Although it is not to be expected that the Antiquary will regard this subject with equal interest, yet I think a little experience will convince him that a careful consideration of the technical construction of ancient buildings is not wholly devoid either of utility or interest, and may render him important assistance in determining their date. In confirmation of this I need only point to the admirable essay of one of our most distinguished members, Mr. Hamilton, on the Ancient Fortresses of Greece, in the fifteenth volume of Archæologia; an essay which I have always regarded as a model of antiquarian inquiry, and one not surpassed in point of interest and value by any of our published Transactions.

But it is not only on classic ground that this subject demands attention, nor is it upon works of the earliest antiquity alone that our examination of the artifices of construction can be advantageously bestowed. I am persuaded, that, if as much attention were paid to the substantial details of structure visible in our own old buildings as has been given to the contour of mouldings and other purely ornamental forms, much light would be thrown upon

the disputed chronology of these and similar works, and many data of general application might perhaps be established. This is a vein of inquiry to which I beg leave to invite the attention of intelligent and competent observers, and in the pursuit of which I think they may anticipate a profitable result.

As an example of the sort of inquiry which I have suggested, I submit to you some sketches (Pl. XXVII.) explanatory of the mode adopted by masons at various and distant periods in forming a straight head over an aperture.

No. 1 is a representation, drawn from detailed memoranda taken by myself in 1825, of the lintel over the great doorway leading into the cella of the temple usually called the Temple of Concord, on the site of the ancient Agrigentum, in Sicily. The date of this building, like most of the Greek remains in that island, is unfortunately unknown; Biscari and other Sicilian antiquaries consider it to belong to a period subsequent to the Punic war, because Diodorus states all the temples of Agrigentum to have been either burnt or wholly destroyed by frequent seiges, whereas this building is remaining tolerably perfect: but this does not appear to me conclusive evidence, for, although the columns, entablature, and cella walls are certainly in better condition in respect to their masonry than most other Greek remains, yet this might fairly be classed among the *ædes sacræ exustæ* of Diodorus, inasmuch as every combustible portion of it is wholly destroyed. There is so much purity and genuine Greek character throughout this beautiful temple, that I cannot consider it to be the work of any period later than the reduction of Sicily under the Roman power.

It is manifest that, to whatever period we attribute this work, the principle of the arch was still unknown to the builder, for it is not to be supposed that they would have taken the pains to quarry, convey, and lift up so ponderous a block of stone as that which forms the lintel, nor would they have resorted to the singular contrivance here seen for relieving this stone from the pressure of the superincumbent masonry, had they known that with much less cumbrous stones they could have made equally sound work.

The opening in the masonry over this lintel appears to have been intended for the double purpose of relieving it from the weight above and of forming a passage-way through the tympanum or gable, and above the level of the ceiling of the cella.

What the purpose or meaning may be of the two small curves at the top I cannot guess, nor have I ever heard any explanation proposed.

The joints of all this masonry are without cement, and nothing can exceed the beautiful precision of the work; you will not fail to observe the pains taken to preserve uniformity in the vertical joints, without sacrificing too much of the bearing ends of the lintel; this minute attention to the appearance of the joints on the inside surface of the walls of the cella affords a satisfactory, and I think, conclusive proof that there was no painting nor any superficial finishing of any kind to the walls of the cella.

No. 2 shews the masonry of the square-head of one of the adyts of the Emissario to the Lake at Albano. The blocks of stone composing it are of the dark brown tufaceous substance, commonly called peperino; the joints are very close, and apparently without cement; these circumstances, according to the theory of Winckelmann, distinguish works of a date prior to the commencement of the Roman Empire; but I cannot place confidence in the opinion that has attributed this work to a period before the siege of Veii. The evidence that has been adduced leads, I think, *only* to the conclusion that the Lake of Albano had at that time an Emissario, but it is not therefore to be assumed that any part of the present masonry bears that early date. The evidence afforded by the construction of the work strongly corroborates the doubt above expressed. There is here an example of what workmen call a skeme-arch, where, in fact, the principle of the arch is carried out less simply than in arches of ordinary form, and which therefore may be presumed to be rather a subsequent refinement upon a previously known arrangement; but, as there is the best evidence to prove that the arch was unknown in masonry at so early a period as that of the siege of Veii, viz. the fourth century before the Christian era, I would infer the great improbability of the date ascribed by some to this specimen of the straight-arched head.

In the third example we have another variety of the skeme-arch, from the head of the doorway into the building at Ravenna, known as Theodoric's Tomb: the rebate or shoulder in the radiating joints is a singular expedient quite unknown, to the best of my belief, in any work of classic times, although, as I shall shew below, it became somewhat prevalent in the ensuing ages. It seems to indicate a distrust of the principle of the arch; but its inutility will

be readily recognised by any mason of the present day. The commencement of the sixth century may be regarded as the date of this example.

No. 4 presents us with a piece of masonry upwards of a thousand years later than No. 3: it is the straight lintel over the centre doorway at the west end of Rochester cathedral. Here we have another elaborate contrivance shewing but little science on the part of the artificer. The joints appear externally to be exactly vertical, although I presume that, within the surface and out of sight, they radiate like the joints of a skeme-arch; otherwise it is difficult to understand how these stones can support the weight imposed upon them; certainly the excrescences on the sides of the stones by which they are locked into each other, and which in mason's language would be called a *joggle*, have but little effect in keeping them up. The face of these stones is, as you well know, richly carved, each with a separate device; they are irregular in size, the abutment stones being very dissimilar: indeed a great want of correspondence and regularity of structure prevails throughout, not only this doorway, but the whole west front of the edifice in question, and it is difficult to believe that any working drawing could have been prepared for the guidance of the masons in the execution of their work.

This fourth example brings us down to the commencement of the twelfth century, the date which I presume may be confidently assigned to the west front of Rochester cathedral.

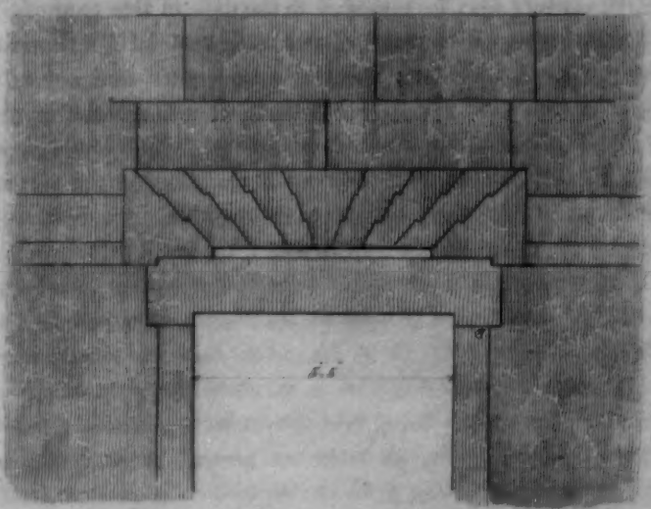
For the sketch, No. 5, I am indebted to a friend, who, however, does not vouch for its minute correctness. It is stated to be the representation of the masonry of a chimney opening in an old kitchen at Edgcot, Northamptonshire. Although the capacious opening here shown is not covered by a straight head, as in the preceding cases, the pointed arch which spans it is so nearly flat as to entitle it to our notice on the present occasion. I know not the age of this example, but I presume it to be of the later period of the Pointed style.

It is worthy of observation that the break or shoulder in the radiating joints is discernible in some semi-circular arches at the Gothic tomb in Ravenna, above referred to; and I have also noticed this singular contrivance in the engraved representations of an old building of the Pointed epoch at Cairo.

The occurrence of the same peculiarity of structure in localities so distant

No 3.

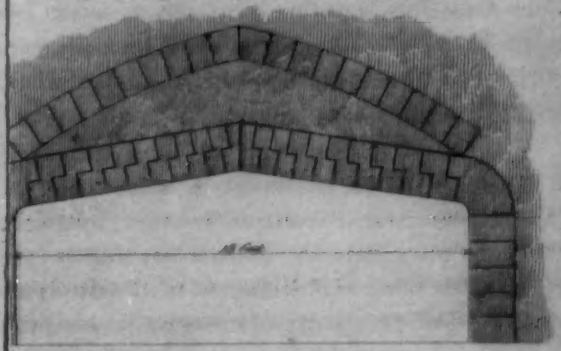
From the Tomb of Theoderic. Ravenna.

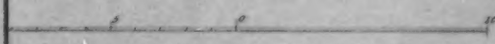


Plan at CD

No 5.

Chimney opening at Edgcot. Northamptonshire.

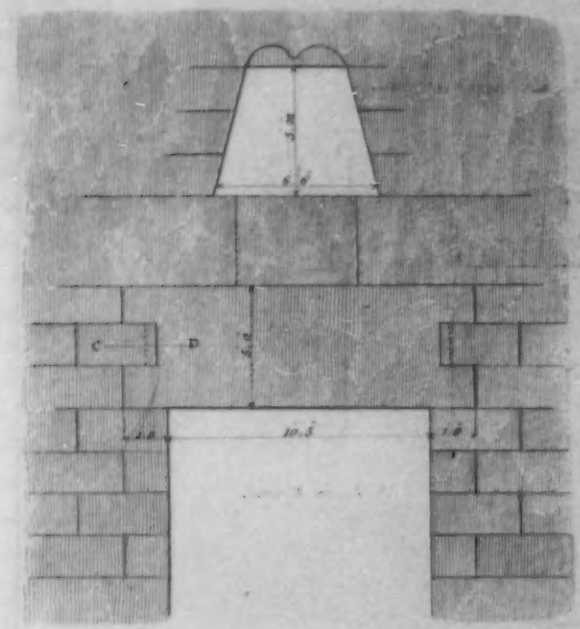




ght head over an Aperture.

N° 1.

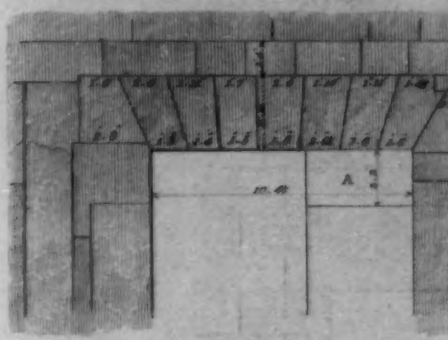
From the Temple of Concord, Agrigentum.



Plan at CD

N° 2.

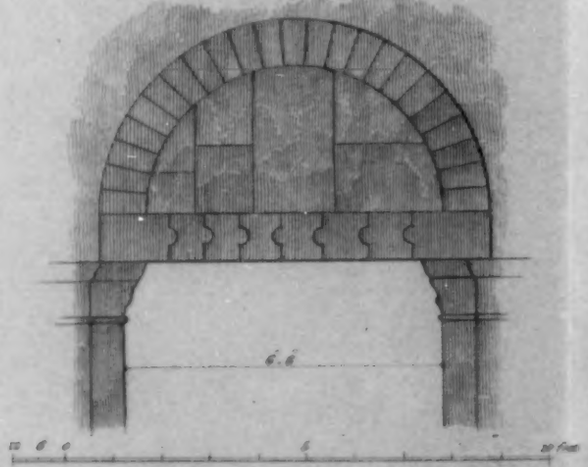
From the Emissario at Albano.



A Modern

N° 4.

From the West Front of Rochester Cathedral.



Sketches explanatory of the Mode adopted by Masons at various and distant per

Sydney Smirke, Feb 1838

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 12th 1838

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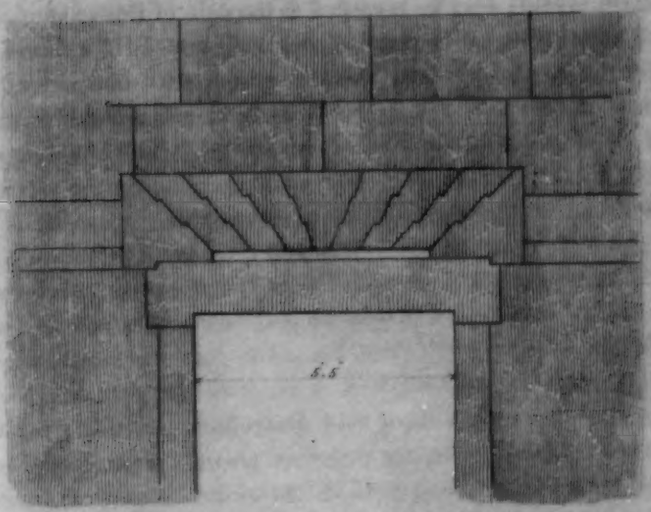
A Modern Masonry.

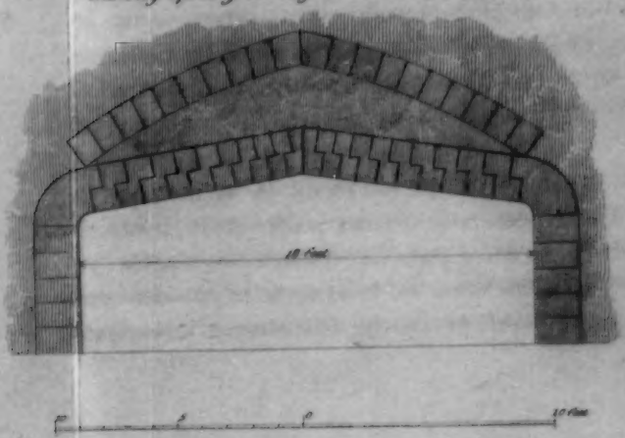
N° 3.

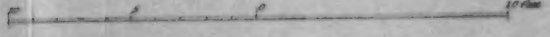
From the Tomb of Theodoric. Ravenna.



N° 5.

Chimney opening at Edgcot. Northamptonshire.





nt periods in forming a straight head over an Aperture.

from each other, a peculiarity unknown to classic art, and long disused in modern art, is a curious fact, and might perhaps suggest interesting reflections; but I forbear to indulge in any speculations on this subject.

The five examples here brought into juxta-position to shew the efforts of workmen to produce the same effect with the same material, at periods and in places so widely distant, serve to illustrate the condition of the arts at their respective periods.

Nothing can exceed the beautiful precision and masterly execution of the masonry in the first, or Greek, example; its excellence is indeed sufficiently attested by the comparatively complete state of the work, notwithstanding the lapse of more than twenty centuries, the devastation of war, and the still more destructive earthquakes of which Sicily has been the scene. But art was still young, and the progress of mechanical knowledge not great: the arch was unknown, and the Greek mason had no resource but the obvious and inartificial one of forming his straight doorhead with a block of depth and strength enough to bear its burthen, notwithstanding the trouble that necessarily attended the process.

The second, or Roman example, has still much of the excellence that characterises the workmanship of classic times; and indicates moreover, that since the date of the preceding example, a stride had been made in the progress of the science of construction that was destined to effect a total revolution in architectural design, for cuneiform stones are here used to form a flat arch.

The third example, of what may truly be called the Gothic period, strongly marks the decadence of good art; although the masonry is executed with much precision, the rebate or shoulder in the radiating joint is a piece of mistaken construction that would not have been made in better times.

The fourth, or Norman example, and the fifth, of a still later period, illustrate that elaborately artificial manner which, both in design and construction, characterises the mediæval architecture of Europe.

I remain, dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

APPENDIX.

AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

APPENDIX.

Eynsford Castle, in the County of Kent.

April 9th, 1835. Extract of a letter from Edward Cresy, Esq. to John Gage, Esq. Director, accompanying three Plans of Eynsford Castle, in the county of Kent.

"These interesting ruins are the property of Sir Percival Hart Dyke, Bart. and had long been used as stabling, and kenneling for fox-hounds. Circumstances having occurred to occasion the removal of all the modern erections, on my being professionally employed to effect this object, much presented itself during the demolition to induce an examination of the ancient portion which remained; and the Rev. B. Wenston, Vicar of Farningham, and the Rev. A. W. Burnside, to whom I am indebted for the execution of the accompanying model, obtained permission to examine around the walls of the Keep, which appeared to consist only of one large room, with four loop-holes on its eastern side. By the indefatigable and liberal exertions of these gentlemen, many workmen were directed to remove the earth and rubbish, which had accumulated to a vast heap, and the whole was cleared to the depth of eight or nine feet down to the very footings, when the entire plan, with its winding staircase, another room with a chimney, a necessarium, &c. were discovered, as shewn in the accompanying sketches.

"This Castle, situated in a narrow winding valley, formed by the passage of the Darent through the chain of chalk hills, which rise to a considerable height on each side, was well calculated to defend and command the passage across the river hereafter referred to; which passage was, in all probability, the work of the Romans at the time they occupied the camps of Keston (or Noviomagus) and South Fleet (Vagnaca), for it is in the direct line between these two stations, as Otford is between Noviomagus and Oldbury, which summer camp is on the route to Madus, or Maidstone. At Lullingstone, a short distance from this ford, a tesselated pavement was discovered, and Roman coins are constantly found in the neighbourhood. This valley formed a portion

of that called by the Saxons Holmsdale, which extended into Surrey, and was bounded on the north by the chalk hills, which run in a parallel line, about twenty miles south of the Thames; and through it a chain of castles may be traced, ruins of which remain at Guildford, Betchworth, Reigate, Otford, Shoreham, and Eynesford; and to the sense of security engendered by these strong holds, may perhaps be attributed the distich, still remembered:

'Holmsdale
Was never conquered, nor never shall.'

"Many writers have attributed their foundation to Alfred, and their object the protection of this fertile and beautiful tract of country against the incursions of the Danes, to which it would be exposed from the facility of navigating the Darent, afforded by its communication with the Thames.

"At this period, the former river appears to have been crossed by three principal fords, viz. Tarentford (Dartford), Anglesford (Eynsford), and Otford. Anglesford or Eynesford, so named, as Lambard says, from its being the Englishmen's ford, is between the other two, distant from Dartford seven, and from Otford about four miles.

"On the north side of the Castle, and only across the moat, is still to be seen the remains of the causeway which conducted to this ancient ford. It has its commencement near the high road from Farningham to Otford, and continues without interruption through the orchards and gardens for a considerable length, until it arrives within a short distance of the margin of the river; it is nearly level at the top, and about thirty feet in width, on the north side; its facing, of well-constructed flint wall, is seen rising in some places five feet above the level of the ground over which it passes.

"Previously to the river being embanked, the whole of the low grounds were undoubtedly under deep water, and the simplest method of crossing such a lake would be by the means we find carried into effect here; the quantity of water passing is not considerable, and a narrow opening in the causeway would be sufficient for its passage, over which may have been thrown some moveable or temporary bridge. On the western side the hill rises rapidly, and there would be no need of a causeway. From thence the Roman road probably continued by Lullingstone, Chelsfield, and Green-street, to the station Noviomagus (on Holwood hill, Keston).

"That Eynsford was in the possession of a Saxon nobleman of the name of Leofric, we learn from the Textus Roffensis, in which is the account of a dispute between him and the churches of Canterbury and Rochester, finally adjusted by Dunstan in a full court held at Crayford. Some time afterwards, the manorial rights were enjoyed by a family of some note, who, according to Philipott, took their name from this place. During the reign of Henry the Second, Archbishop Becket, who resided at Otford castle, had a dispute with William de Eynesford about the presentation to the church of this

parish, and which it has been asserted was the ground of the last quarrel between the Primate and the King. After Becket's martyrdom, the popular feeling was so roused against all the enemies of the Archbishop, that the holder of these estates, among others, was excommunicated, and their castles left, from superstitious feeling, untenanted, and suffered to fall into decay. The subject of our inquiry appears to have been so neglected, and to date its ruin from that period; as we have no account, not even a tradition, of its having been inhabited since.

"The outer or curtain wall, unquestionably one of the most perfect specimens remaining in this country, is an irregular polygonal oval, or horse-shoe, formed of twenty unequal sides, the entire girth of which is about 520 feet.[a] One of the peculiar characteristics of this external wall is its not having, as was common to Norman fortresses, any small tower or buttresses, where the sides unite; or any loop-holes, or openings for the discharge of missiles. Its original height, nearly throughout, is preserved, which, from the level of the meadows to the passage or walk upon the top, three feet wide, is thirty feet. Eight feet from the level of the ground externally, the wall is battered or tumbled in, about eight inches above which, up to the walk around, its thickness is uniformly five feet four inches; the wall of the battlement remains in some places, and near the opening afterwards described as the original entrance, may be distinctly traced. The apertures or openings on this outer wall are few, and exhibit in their construction Roman tiles. The two at the south end have the character of having been used as sally-ports; they are much broken away, but their sides in part are covered with rough stucco. The small circular hole served only as a drain or outlet for the water which fell into the court-yard.

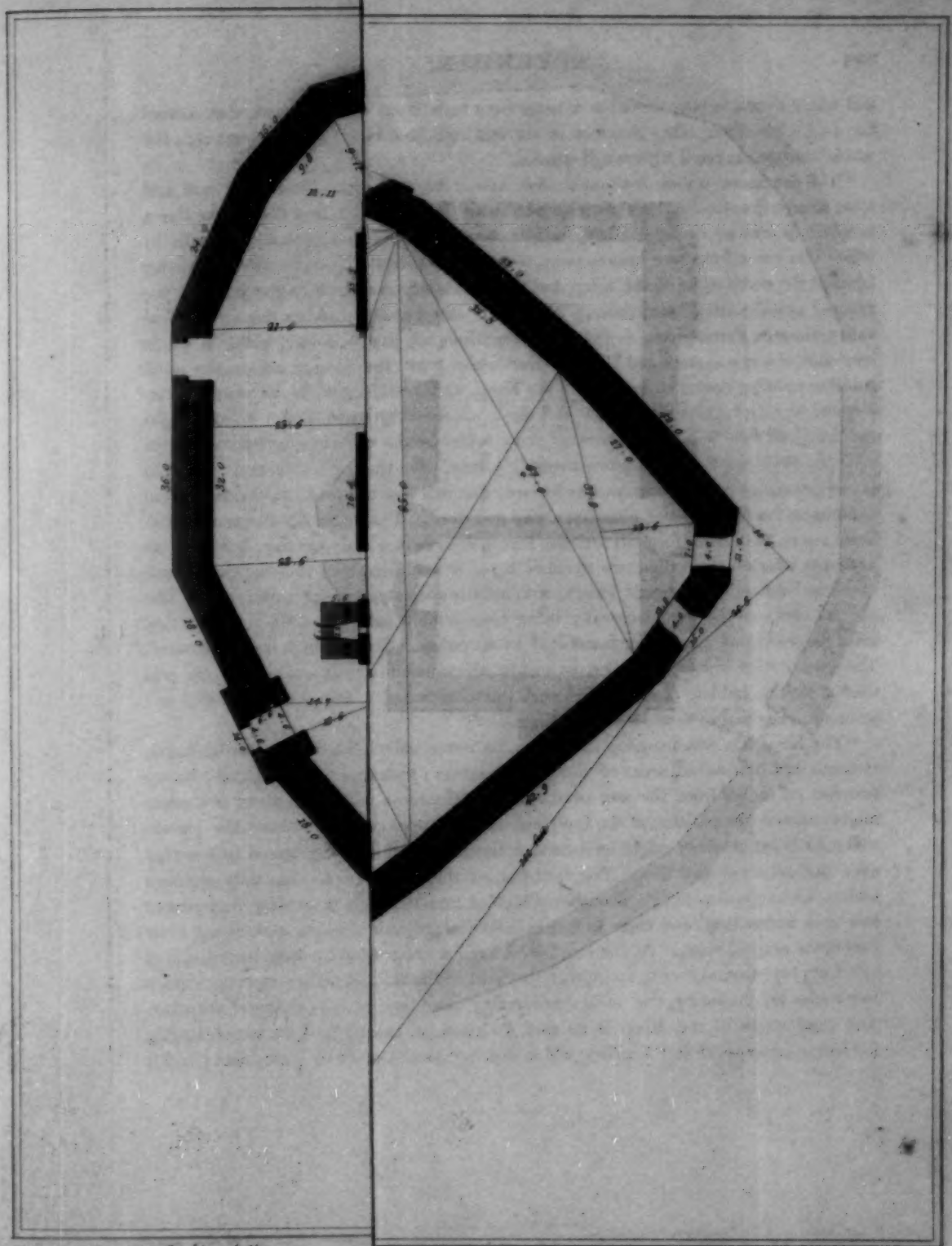
"The principal opening, and which has every appearance of having been one of the original entrances to the castle, is on the north side, and in a very perfect state, situated about 25 feet above the level of the present ground on the outside. The wall here, as in one other division on the south side, is made of an extra thickness, as if to contain some arrangements not required in other portions of it. The opening, or doorway, is three feet wide, and six feet high; and externally the corbel stones remain, which supported a timber platform or landing-place, from whence a ladder was dropped, to enable any one to mount and get admission within. On passing this doorway, you arrive at a small chamber, hollowed out of the wall, six feet long, and four feet six inches wide; on one side of which is a small hole or recess, covered with two courses of Roman tiles,

[a] At Fontainbleau the court-yard of the palace called the Donjon is of this shape exactly, having its present entrance in the long flat side. The period of its construction is said to be that of the Merovingian Kings. The regular shape of the horse-shoe might suggest, to one unacquainted with geometry, an idea for the outline of a castle, to be erected in a situation not affected by local circumstances.

and which seems to have served as a lodgement to a stout wooden beam, that secured the door when shut. This chamber is six feet high, and vaulted semi-circularly; the whole has been covered with rough stucco.

"The pavement or floor is about six feet below the walk around the outer wall, and must nearly, if not quite, have corresponded with the level of the first floor of the Keep, to which it was no doubt attached, or had some communication with it; the walls by which this was effected are broken away, though their direction may be traced, inclining towards the north angle of the Keep, but the precise manner in which the juncture was effected must be left to conjecture. This small chamber commands a fine view of the valley towards Farningham, as well as of the whole of the causeway, which is within bow-shot of any one stationed here to overlook or guard the passage across the river. Another opening occurs at the back of the Keep, on the outer wall, in all respects corresponding in level and dimensions with those already described at the southern angle, and has been used in modern times to draw water from a well, constructed since the river has been diverted to a more westerly course. On the south side, and where the present entrance to the court-yard is formed, the wall has the same thickness as that containing the doorway and chamber above described. Thorpe in his Custumale Roffense states, that there formerly existed here a draw-bridge and gateway, but upon no authority; for on excavating two trenches here, it was discovered that the curtain wall continued through the present breach, without any aperture, and was quite perfect. The original level of the yard internally being considerably below this wall, it does not seem probable that it was ever perforated by an entrance level with it as conjectured. The entrance or breach which exists, was in all probability made when the site was used at first as stables, as some brickwork was demolished a few years back, said not to be of an age earlier than Henry the Eighth.

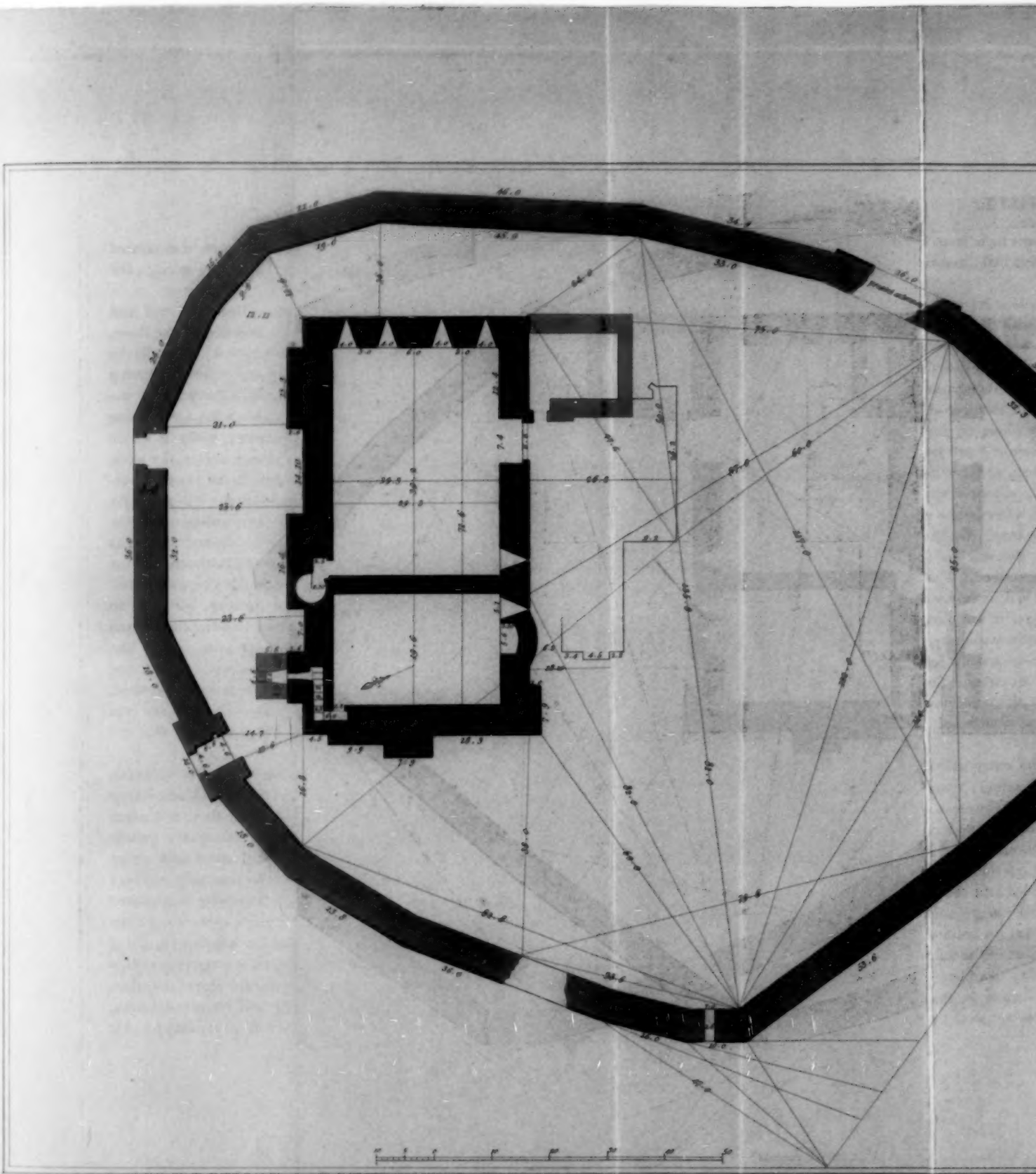
"The Keep is a parallelogram in its plan, its outer walls being five feet in thickness, strengthened by five buttresses of unequal projection; those on the north side advance two feet six inches from the face of the work. The most eastern of these buttresses might indicate the position of the fire-places in the upper rooms, or above the curtain wall a look-out chamber might have been hollowed out of it, which would have a view over the causeway and ford. The buttress on the west side projects only eighteen inches; and adjoining to this, though not bonded into the wall, is another mass, seven feet nine inches long, and three feet eight inches in projection, which appears not to be part of the original work. At the south-west angle a buttress of the same length, and of two feet projection, serves to strengthen that part of the building. The proportions of the two rooms are dissimilar, one being considerably more than double the size of the other. The clear width of the Keep is 29 feet 3 inches, or exactly half its entire length, (39 feet 3 inches + 19 feet 3 inches) which does not seem the effect of accident; and it



Measured October 1834. by Edw.d Cragg Archt.

F. Basire sc.

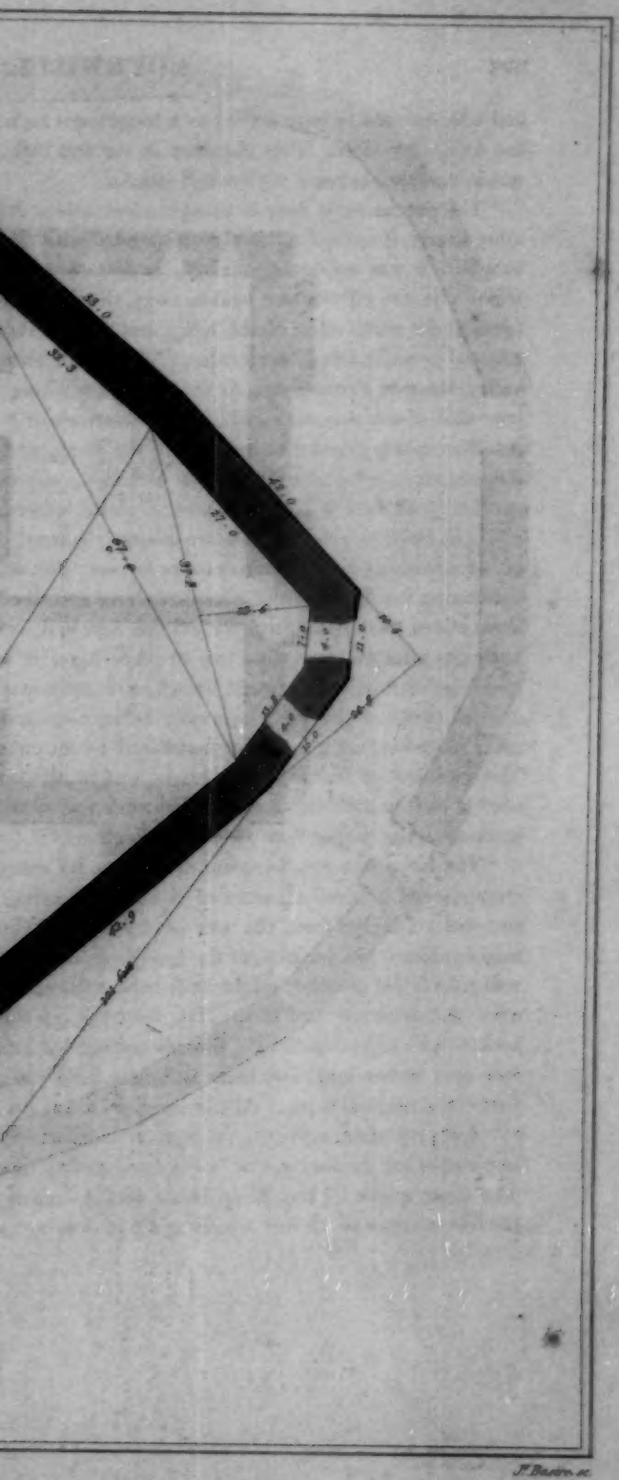
Ground now appear by recent excavations



Measured October 1834 by Edm.d Gregg Archt

Ground Plan of the remains of Eynesford Castle Kent the property of Sir P.H.Dyke Bar.t as they now appear by

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 25th 1839



J. Basire sc.

pear by recent excavations

may be observed, that in most of the buildings constructed during the middle ages, these general proportions were invariably attended to. On removing the earth, the footings of the walls were arrived at, which are about five feet above the present level of the ground outside the curtain wall, or 19 feet 6 inches below the floor of the chamber on the north side, described as the probable entrance to the castle.

"The walls are constructed with flints, with the occasional introduction of tiles: and the whole has the appearance of having been carried up on caissoons, with mortar composed of coarse sand and lime, well grouted as the work went on. The surrounding country abounds with flint; the quantity, however, required for the outer wall alone, which contains upwards of 300 rods of reduced work, could not have been collected without vast labour. The Keep and other buildings would require more than a similar quantity.

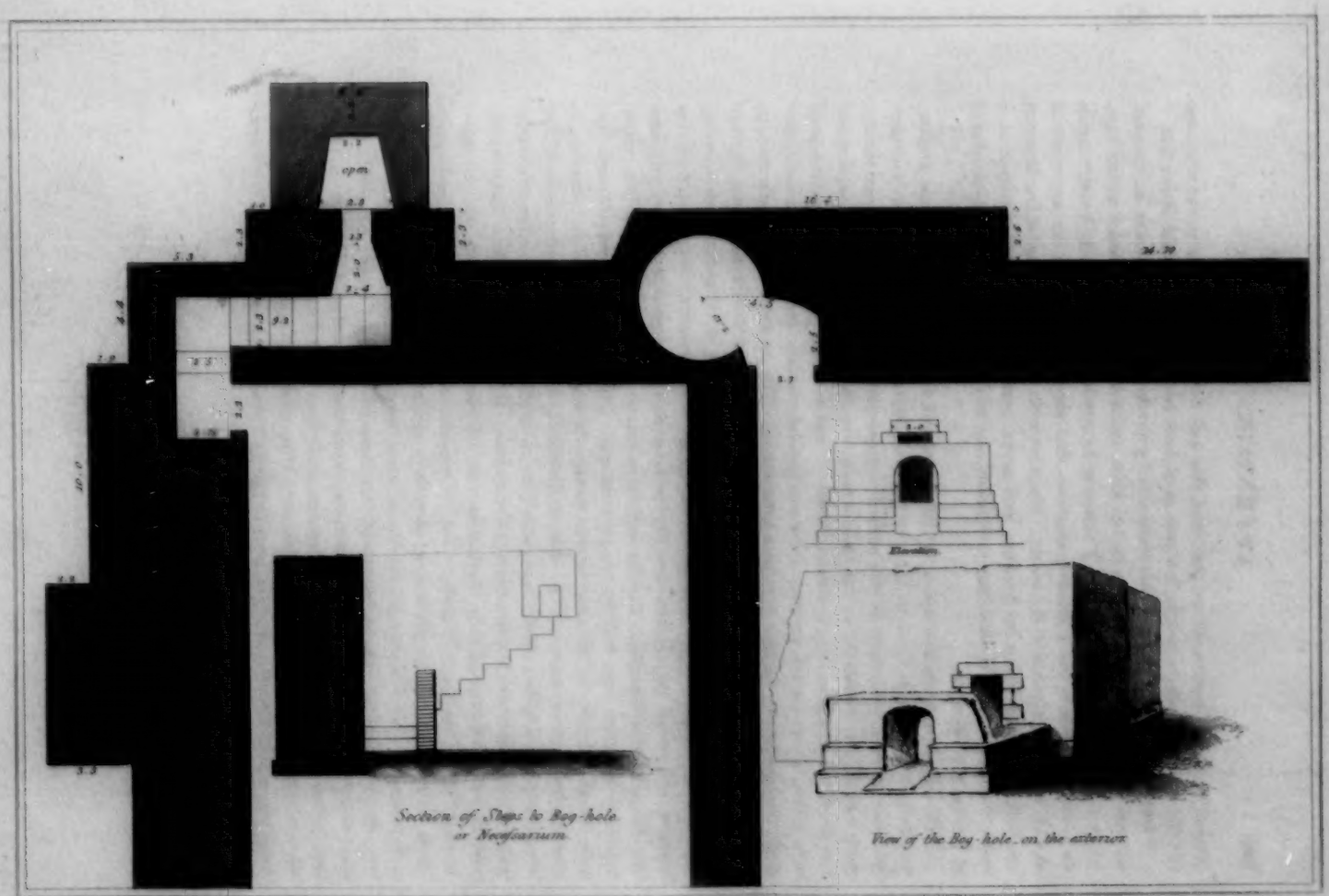
"On removing the ground on the south side of the Keep, the walls in advance of the entrance doorway or portal were exhibited; but as they are not bonded or united with the main tower, it is reasonable to suppose they were after-constructions. They bore a resemblance to one entire mass of concrete, with the exception of the small room adjoining the portal supposed to be a guard-chamber, and a passage parallel and close to the Keep, on a line with the door which enters the room where the guard were stationed. The right jamb of this door, which at the height of the shoulder is much worn, is of Reigate stone as well as the other, where the hooks remain upon which the door turned. The precise way which led to the chief portal has not been decided; it might have been by a straight passage as described, or by a more tortuous one practised in the mass of concrete in face of it.

"The portal is not in the middle, and externally its width is six feet six inches. The wall being destroyed at about eight feet from the foundation, its arch or lintel has left no trace. The sill is two feet above the level of the floor, and you could not have entered without descending by two or more steps. The right jamb is of Reigate stone, built at the time the guard-room was constructed; the other jamb is original, and formed with tiles. Behind the reveal on which the door shut, is a small hole six inches square, which slants upwards through the thickness of the wall, until it again shews itself above the loop-hole on the south side. There are in the curtain wall many of these funnels, probably contrived and used for the purpose of holding a conversation with, or alarming the centinels stationed near them. On entering the Keep, the principal room is 39 feet 3 inches by 29 feet 3 inches, and there is not the slightest indication of its ever having been arched or vaulted over; indeed the thickness of the walls are not adequate to the thrust of an arch of so great a span, unless aided in its resistance by a mound of earth, which this Keep never had, or some other counterfort. In

general we find, where vaults are practised, that half their span given to the thickness of their abutting walls, which in this case must have been fourteen instead of five feet.

"The only light admitted to this room was by the four narrow loop-holes on the east, and one on the south side, only six inches wide, and not more than 2 feet 3 inches high. At its north angle a doorway, 2 feet 7 inches wide, conducts to a well hole, 5 feet 8 inches diameter, where once was a winding staircase, that served to mount to the upper rooms as well as to the summit of the castle. The tiles with which the jambs of the doorway are built up, are 6¾ inches by 7 inches, and seven courses of them are contained in a foot; they are roughly worked, but well burnt, and of the description usually attributed to Roman manufacture.

"The adjoining room containing the fire-place, and which might serve as the kitchen, was entirely brought to light by the recent excavations; it has no apparent entrance, for the doorway and steps at the northern angle only conducted to a necessarium, most ingeniously contrived in the thickness of the wall. The jambs of this doorway are also formed of tiles, and a staircase 2 feet 3 inches wide continues up to the level of a recess, where are the remains of a drain, passing through the wall into a small cesspool, once arched or covered over with a flat stone. The aperture in the main wall, by which the soil passed, is 2 feet 10 inches in height, and 1 foot 8 inches in width, worked in Reigate stone. The cesspool, or exterior work forming it, concealed this opening, and was not bonded into the wall of the Keep. On mounting the steps from the kitchen, it is plainly perceivable that they terminated at the recess, and were only used for the purposes described, for the wall is closed at their extremity, which would not have been the case had the steps continued. How the kitchen was entered, except by an aperture in the floor above, cannot be imagined; it was not unusual to communicate in this manner. To make it difficult to arrive at the inner rooms of the Keep, seems one of the objects most aimed at in their arrangements. On the south side of the kitchen are the remains of the fire-place, which is built up with Roman tiles, and has every evidence of being constructed with the walls it is recessed in; its opening is 5 feet 6 inches, and depth 2 feet 10 inches; the back, forming a segment of a circle, is plastered, and so discoloured with the soot that there can be no doubt of its appropriation. Near the hearth were found many bones of a hog or some other animal. The flue could not be traced, nor could the breast be distinctly made out; the walls here being broken off about where the mantle would have occurred; in all probability the flue inclined in an outward direction, and terminated as the flues do at Rochester castle, not continuing to the top of the battlements. On one side of the chimney is a loop-hole, that would serve to overlook the entrance or passage that was in a line with the

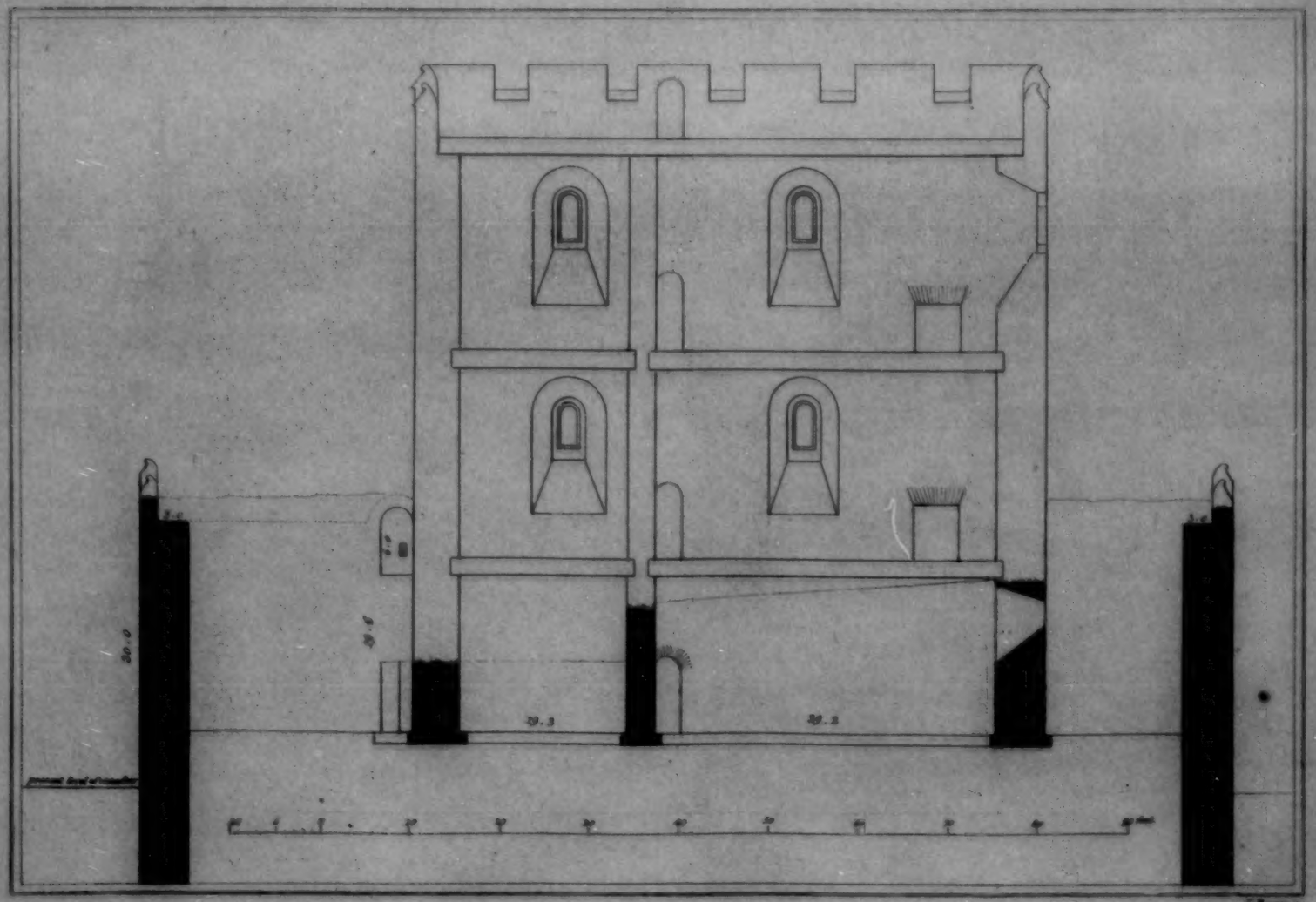


Measured by Edw.d Gregs Archit.

F. Basire sc.

Eynesford Castle

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 27th 1838



Eynsford Castle. Kent. (restored.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1st 1841.

door of the guard-room, and which has been suggested as the way to arrive at the chief portal. Through this loop-hole, all the light the kitchen received was admitted, except what it derived from the fire. Neither of the rooms exhibit any remains of a pavement; and from the door of the spiral staircase, as well as that conducting to the necessarium, being set off on the footings, no doubt can be entertained that their top was the level of the floor of the lower rooms of the Keep.

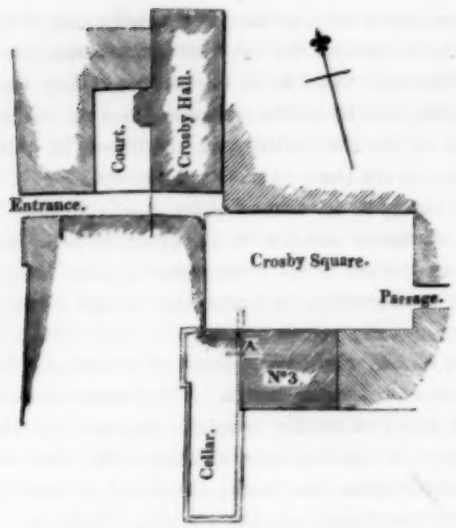
"The height of the Keep, in its original state, equalled probably its extreme length, and consisted of two stories in addition to the ground-floor. Its general character, its entrance, as well as some other of its arrangements, must have borne a strong resemblance to that erected by Gundulph at Rochester, though upon a much smaller scale; towering above its curtain wall, and presenting its battlements seventy feet from its base, a warder, on its summit, might have obtained a view of a considerable portion of the valley through which the Darent winds. The position of this Keep, at one extremity of its court-yard, was that usually adopted; by such a position a larger area was obtained for the exercise of the retainers, and more difficulty was produced to assemble a body of besiegers around the walls, nor could a battering ram be applied in the confined space between them and the curtain, which was distant but a few feet from it."

Roman Pavement at Bishopsgate.

14th April 1836. Alfred Burgess, Esq. of Great George Street, exhibited, through Sir Henry Ellis, a small portion of a Roman Pavement discovered by some labourers during the previous month, while digging for a drain in the basement of a house, No. 3, in Crosby Square, Bishopsgate.

"The extent of the pavement was not very satisfactorily ascertained; the width of what was found did not exceed five feet, the depth to its surface was about thirteen feet from the foot-paving in the square, it being nearly upon the same level with the cellar floor of the adjoining building: which cellar is supposed to have formed part of the mansion erected upon this same site by Sir John Crosby in the fifteenth century.

"The accompanying sketch shows the situation in which the pavement was discovered:



A. Place where the Pavement was found.

"The pavement closely abutted upon the side wall of the cellar, which upon being cut through for the purpose of continuing the drain, was found to consist of rubble, stone, and chalk, strongly cemented together, and appeared very ancient. The surface was found covered with a thick coat of dirt, no doubt occasioned by the damp and the rubbish lying upon it; this alone caused a considerable portion of it to be damaged before it was discovered to be pavement, and even then great difficulty was found in raising it in pieces of any size. The moisture and damp of the ground having perished the bed of mortar into which the stones had been set, the greater part crumbled into pieces upon the slightest touch; so much so, that but one other piece of any size besides the fragment exhibited was obtained, which is now in the possession of Mr. Willis, upon whose premises it was found.

"The formation of the pavement was nearly as follows: a bed of hard ground, about two feet thick, was first formed, upon which a layer of coarse rough mortar was spread, varying from three to five inches in thickness, formed of lime, sand, small stones, and pounded brick; being the usual ingredients made use of by the Romans where strength only was considered. This cement was good, but not quite so hard as some mortar occasionally to be met with in old buildings.

"The mortar in which the stones were imbedded was of a finer description than the first, being composed of lime with a small proportion of sand.

"The pavement had been of a scroll pattern, with a border round the margin; the colours used appeared to be red, yellow, white, and black, the two first evidently of brick, and the other two of stone. From the smooth and even surface of the pavement there could be no doubt that after it had been laid and the mortar sufficiently hardened, the irregularities of its surface were first worked off, and the whole rubbed to a fair face, a work of great labour, particularly as the black and white are of considerable hardness; neither is it improbable that it once had a polish.

"The site of Crosby Square was at one time attached to the priory of St. Helen's, and afterwards occupied by the mansion of Sir John Crosby, already mentioned, of which the only remains are the splendid hall, and some vaults now attached to the adjoining houses.

"By the discovery of this pavement we are led to suppose that upon this very spot a building, perhaps a forum, was erected by the Romans during the time they were masters of this country, of which this beautiful specimen of their taste and workmanship formed the floor; thus adding another link in the chain of presumptive evidence of the extent and number of the buildings in Roman London."

Human Skeleton found at Arentsburgh, near the Hague.

28th April 1836. Dr. Conrad Leemans, first Conservator of the Museum at Leyden, presented to the Society the plaster Cast of a human Skeleton, found in 1828 at Arentsburgh, near the Hague, accompanied by the following particulars relating to, and illustrative of the discovery.

"By the archæological researches made at the expense of the Dutch Government, under the direction of the late Professor Reuvens, from 1827—1830, it has been ascertained that the remains of Roman buildings, found at Arentsburgh, belong to the place which in the Tabula Peutingeriana is called *Forum Hadriani*.

"The Roman ornaments found upon the body seem to prove, that, if it did not belong to an individual of that nation, it can at all events be of no later period than shortly after the time in which the Romans were in possession of that part of Holland under Constantine.

"These ornaments consisted, in the first place, of three fibulæ of bronze; one about the neck, the second near to the left shoulder, the third under the left breast. Only one of them was attached to the bones. The two others fell in pieces, as soon as

the body was exposed to the influence of the air. Bracelets of very bad silver ornamented the lower parts of the arms.

"It is a remarkable circumstance that the body was buried amidst the buildings, southward from the remains of a hypocaust, and to the north of an edifice which, according to the form and the thickness of the foundations, and different fragments of inscriptions, might have been a temple.

"Though, with the exception of a small part of a cranium found at a distance of about two hundred paces, no other remains of human bodies have been discovered during these researches, yet it does not appear probable that the body found at Arentsburgh was buried there by chance: because first, it was found at the depth of about three feet beneath the surface, lying with the head to the east, and facing the west; Secondly, because the head and the elbows rested upon stones, evidently with the purpose of preserving those parts from sinking too deeply in the ground, or from the pressure of the earth thrown upon the body; and thirdly, because the position of the arms, lying upon the breast, renders it probable that they had been involved in the folds of the tunica, and likewise that in burying the dead particular care was taken.

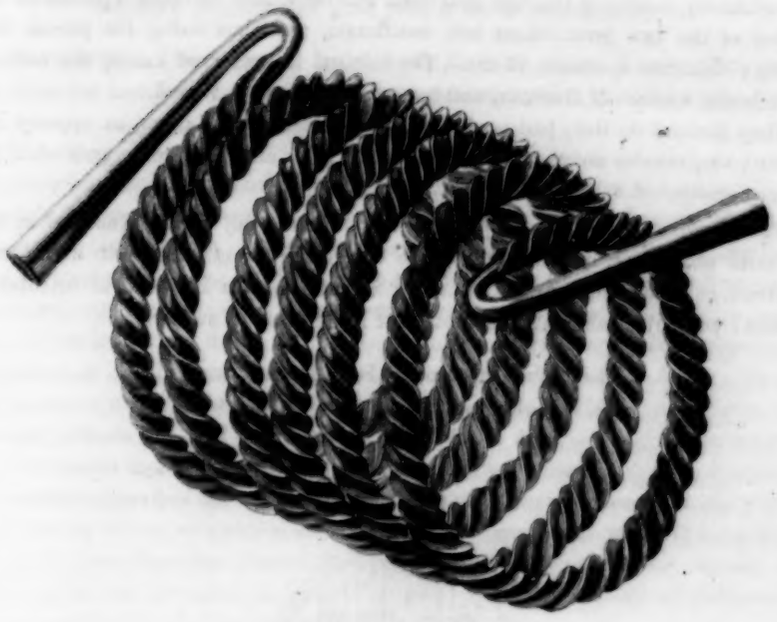
"The lower part of the Skeleton had been destroyed by the protrusion of the roots of a tree, planted close upon the spot."

Bell found in the Bog of Glenade, county of Leitrim.

28th April 1836. Viscount Cole exhibited to the Society a square Bell, about te inches high, found in the Bog of Glenade, in the parish of Kinlough, in the county of Leitrim; together with several bronze ornaments found in the bogs in Ireland, apparently Bosses of shields.

Gold Bracelets found near Egerton Hall, Cheshire.

28th April 1836. Sir Philip Malpas de Grey Egerton, Bart. exhibited to the Society two Gold Bracelets found near Egerton Hall, Cheshire, in digging for the foundation of a cottage in 1831. Both were of the pattern here engraved:



Seal of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham.

5th May 1836. Mr. DOUBLEDAY exhibited to the Society, by the hands of Sir Henry Ellis, a Cast from the Seal of Richard de Bury, or Aungervile, Bishop of Durham, which, as a specimen of art, is of great interest. The whole-length figure of the Bishop upon it is elaborately finished, and appears to have been intended for a portrait. The canopy of Gothic tracery, beneath which the figure stands, is in the richest style of the reign of Edward the Third. The inscription round, is S. RICARDI . DEI . GR'A . DVNELMENSIS. EP'I.

A short account of Bishop Richard de Bury has already been printed in the tenth volume of the Archæologia (p. 259). He was a native of the town of Bury St. Edmund, in Suffolk, where he was born in 1281. After various minor preferments and employments, King Edward the Third made him Bishop of Durham in 1333, Lord Chancellor of England in 1334, and in 1336 Treasurer of England; he died in 1345. Upon each side of the canopy on this Seal, beneath which the Bishop stands, are the arms of Eng-

land, evidently indicating that the Seal itself was made after he became possessed of one or other of the two great offices last mentioned, and thus fixing the precise date of this very elaborate specimen of art. The original is preserved among the archives of the Cathedral Church of Durham, and has never yet been engraved.

Bishop Richard de Bury had no fewer than four seals, all of silver, as appears by the following very curious entry among the Durham Wills and Inventories published by the Surtees Society, vol. i. p. 26:

"Post mortem Ricardi Byry Episcopi fracta fuerunt iiij Sigilla ejusdem, et Sancto Cuthberto oblata; ex quibus Ricardus de Wolveston Feretrarius fecit unum calicem argenteum et deauratum, qui est ad altare Sancti Johannis Baptistæ in orientali parte Ecclesiæ: sub cujus calicis pede sculpti sunt hi duo versus subscripti:

"Hic ciphus insignis fit Presulis ex tetra signis
Ri. Dunolmensis quarti, natu Byriensis."

Roman Sepulchral Urn found in Whitechapel.

12th May 1836. The following letter from ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. to Sir Henry Ellis, was laid before the Society, accompanied by the exhibition of a Roman Urn:

"DEAR SIR, New Kent Road, May 11, 1836.

"By the kindness of Messrs. Hardwick and Norton, Magistrates of Lambeth Street, I have lately had the opportunity of inspecting a Roman sepulchral deposit of some interest found on the west side of the highway at Whitechapel, nearly opposite Red Lion Street. It consisted of an urn filled with calcined human bones, inclosed within another Urn, spherical in form and of large dimensions, being five feet and a half in circumference. With these were found the fragments of an unguentary vessel, ornamented with a pattern of running tracery grotesquely interwoven with animal forms; the portion of the above vessel, now exhibited, bears the figure of a running hind, whose limbs are delicately drawn out and lost in the stems of the foliage. The whole lay at the depth of seven feet from the surface of the present road. Remains, not so considerable, of another deposit of the same kind, appeared at a short distance from the above.

"This placing of *one urn within another* precisely corresponds with the arrangement of some of the urns from the Deveril Street cemetery, represented in the recently published volume of our Archaeologia, p. 470 (as was intimated in a postscript attached to my communication there printed.[a])

"There is no doubt but, as the urns at the last mentioned site were placed in connexion with the Watling Street, so these at Whitechapel were deposited, at the time of interment, by the side of the great Roman way, which, making its exit from Londinium at Aldgate, ran eastward through the ICENIAN *Camalodunum* to *Venta Icenorum*, Caistor, near Norwich; the course nearly according with the ninth Iter of Antoninus.

"Bergier in his 'Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain,' in citing the well-known law of the twelve tables, 'Hominem in urbe ne sepelito neve urito,' seems to hint that the injunction was confined to the city of Rome, until the time of Hadrian, who extended it to every city in the Roman Empire, 'ne sanctum municipiorum jus polluatur,' for that superstition of the Greeks had descended to the Romans, that the town was defiled and polluted in which dead bodies should remain. The Greeks themselves had perhaps borrowed the notion from the Egyptians, whose cities for their dead, are, to this day, evidence of the population and importance of those which once existed for the living.

"The sepulchres for the dead in the Roman times were arranged by the side of the highways, to keep them in the memory of the survivors; and this purpose is neatly and

[a] See also hereafter, p. 412.

distinctly declared in the inscription on an ancient tomb, erected to one Lollius, and cited by Bergier, which declares that he was buried by the way side, in order that passengers might salute him with their valedictions, as they passed onward on the road:

"'T. Lollius, T. Lollii masculus, &c. Hic *propter viam* positus, ut dicant prætereuntes—*Lolli, Vale!*'

"I remain, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

"ALFRED J. KEMPE."

Map of the Roman Roads upon the Yorkshire Wolds.

9th June 1836. JOHN WALKER, Esq., of Malton, presented to the Society a drawn Map of the Roman Roads and other ancient remains (many presumed to be British) on the Yorkshire Wolds and Northern Moors. See Plate XXXI.

It will be seen that Roman milestones remain at Filey, Rudstone Parva, and Carnaby, all on the sea-coast. There is another at Danby Beacon on the Moors near Whitby.

An erect rough stone Pillar remains at Great Rudston, near the church. At Hovingham, near Malton, a Roman Pavement, a Bath, and Coins have been discovered. At Ness, near Hovingham, a sarcophagus, now lost, was inscribed:

TITIA PINTA . VIX. ANN. XXXVIII
ET VAL. &c.

At Kirkby Misperton an ancient Obelisk was found laid upon the ground, which on repairing the church was broken by the workmen and placed in the north wall, where some fragments and letters appear, but without any meaning which can be made out. The Rev. Dr. Blomberg, Residentiary at St. Paul's, has erected another pillar in its place to the honour of King George IV.

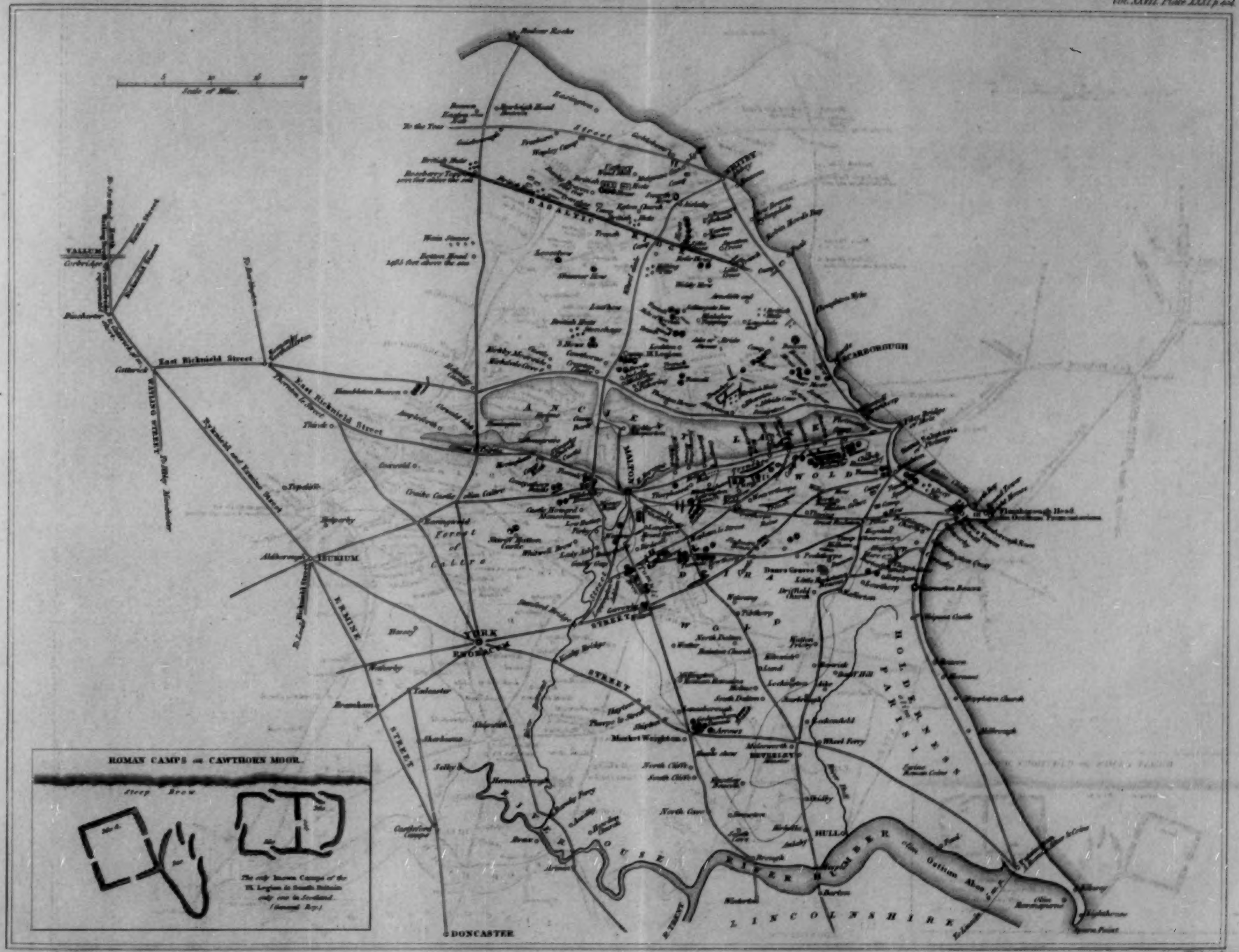
At Mosley Bank, only one mile from Malton, a Roman Pavement, Urns, and Coins, have been discovered.

At Patrington, the Roman Prætorium of the Itinera on the Humber, a Roman Altar and Coins were found near the church.

The Tumuli in Danesdale are called Danes' graves.

The site of British huts on the plan is marked as ascertained by circular hollows, showing remains of the effects of fire in the centre of many of them.

The Track-ways or Roads of the Brigantes and Romans on the Yorkshire Wolds have been generally on the natural ground. The very thin covering of soil in that chalk region did not require throwing up to form a road when uninclosed, the direction being marked by Tumuli.



Map of the Roman Roads upon the Yorkshire Wolds, and Northern Moors.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st March 1828.

Earliest Specimens of Mezzotinto Engraving.

8th Dec. 1836. The following letter from Hugh W. Diamond, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, was read, accompanying a short Catalogue of all the earliest specimens known of Mezzotinto Engraving, collected by himself; the whole of which have been since purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum:

"Dear Sir, In the last session I had the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, several remarkable specimens of early Mezzotinto Engraving; which prove beyond doubt that the generally received opinion as to Prince Rupert being the inventor of that style of engraving is erroneous. From the examples then exhibited, it appears that the person to whom the merit of the invention is due, is Louis von Siegen (or *L. à* Siegen), a Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The works of this amateur artist are of considerable rarity; and it is not improbable that they were merely distributed among his friends and patrons. Baron Heineken in his 'Idée Générale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes,' printed at Leipsic in 1771, says decidedly that Siegen was the inventor of Mezzotinto engraving, and observes that the first specimen which appeared was the portrait of the Princess Amelia, Landgravine of Hesse; he adds, that Prince Rupert learnt the art from Siegen, and that eventually it became public. In the new edition of Granger's Biographical History of England we find some observations on the invention of this style of engraving: 'It should not be forgotten that Sir Christopher Wren is said to have been the inventor of Mezzotinto; it is certain there is a Blackamoor's head by him in a different manner to that of Prince Rupert: also, Vertue, in a manuscript in my possession, mentions a large head *something like Mezzotint*, of the Princess Amelia of Hesse, thus inscribed: 'ad vivum a se primùm depictam, novoque jam sculpturæ modo expressam, dicat consecratque L. à S. anno 1643.' Mr. Wanley says there is one of this lady in Lord Harley's collection of heads, also one of the Comes of Hesse by the same hand, who was the person who taught Prince Rupert.' Mr. Lodge, in his life of that Prince contained in his Portraits of Illustrious Persons, after mentioning the Prince's contributions to science, and various discoveries, says; 'But the discovery which we find most frequently associated with his name, is of the art of engraving in Mezzotinto, the first hint of which is said to have occurred to him from observing the effect accidentally produced by a soldier scraping some rust off the barrel of his musquet: his right, however, to the strict reputation of inventor has been somewhat questioned, *but with little probability.*'

"It will be seen by this that Heineken's authority is doubted; but Mr. Strutt, in his Biographical Dictionary of Engravers, although more cautious, is nevertheless in doubt on the subject; for he says, after noticing the story of Prince Rupert's observing the soldier scrape the rust from his musquet:—'If the account, as given by Baron Heineken,

be allowed as authentic, and it bears every appearance of being true, especially *if such a portrait really exists*, then the probability of the first story is entirely destroyed. I must leave the reader, however, to decide, having given him all the information I could obtain on the subject.'

"Now, from the extracts given, it is evident that neither Strutt, Bryan, Granger, or Noble have ever seen the engravings in question; and it is a remarkable fact, that not one of them is to be found in the fine collection of the British Museum. The example I have now the pleasure of exhibiting, is a portrait of the eldest daughter of Charles the First, inscribed: 'Augusta Maria Caroli: M: B: Reg: Filia. Princ: Aur. Sponsa.' and is of great rarity; one other only being known in England; namely, that in the collection of Mrs. Sutherland; which is, however, I am informed, very much injured.

"The present portrait, as a work of art, is curious from its combining two distinct styles of engraving; the figure being entirely Mezzotinto, and the back-ground in line and 'cross-hatched.' The likeness is highly interesting from the strong resemblance which it bears to the Stuart family, especially to Charles the Second, and his brother Frederick Duke of Glocester. Near the base of the picture in the right-hand corner are the words, 'Honthorst pinxit, L. à Siegen inv.[enit] et fecit;' and it is worthy of observation, that the word *Inventor* is generally found on the works of Siegen. On the Holy Family engraved by him after Caracci, and dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin, is the following remarkable inscription: 'Eminentissimo Domino D. Julio Mazarini S. R. E. Cardinali, &c. Novi hujus Sculpturæ modi *primus inventor* Ludovicus a Siegen humilissime offert, dicat et consecrat, Aº. 1657.'

"Huber, the compiler of Winckler's Catalogue, tells us that Theodore Caspar de Fürstenbergh, a Capitulary Canon of Mayence, was an engraver in Mezzotinto; that his works are cotemporary with those of Siegen, and expresses a doubt as to which was the disciple of the other; adding, if Fürstenbergh learnt the art of Siegen, he excelled his master. But there is no evidence whatever to warrant this doubt; on the contrary, the portrait of the Queen of Bohemia, which I exhibited in February last, bears the date of 1643, while the earliest known specimen of Fürstenbergh is dated 1656. It is only necessary to add that Rupert's earliest effort in Mezzotinto (though etchings of this Prince are earlier, and one is known inscribed Rup. Pr. 1637) is of the year 1658. In conclusion, I subjoin a catalogue of the known works in Mezzotinto of Siegen, Fürstenbergh, and Rupert, as the same has not to my knowledge ever been printed.

"I have the honour to remain, Sir Henry,

"Your obedient and humble servant,

"Hugh W. Diamond."

Louis von Seigen (or L. à Seigen), born 1620.

No. 1. The Virgin holding the infant Jesus. In front, on the right of her, is St. John; and behind, St. Joseph holding a book in one hand and a pair of spectacles in the other, after Caracci; with the inscription, "Eminentissimo Principi Domino D. Julio Mazarini S. R. E. Cardinali, etc. Novi hujus Sculpturæ modi *primus* inventor Ludovicus a Siegen humilissime offert, dicat et consecrat." Ao. 1667. (Height 13¾ inches, width 10⅞, without the inscription.)

2. Portrait of the Landgravine of Hesse with this inscription, "Amelia Elisabetha, D. G. Hassiæ Landgravia, etc. Comitissa Hanoviæ Muntzenb. Illustrissimo ac Celssimo Pr. & D'no, D'no Wilhelmo VI. D. G. Hassiæ Landgr. etc. hanc Serenissimæ Matris et Incomparabilis Heroïnæ effigiem ad vivum à se primùm depictam novoq' jam Sculpturæ modo expressam, dedicat consecratq' L. à S. A'o D'nj. cIↃ. IↃ.CXLIII. (Height 17 inches, width 12¼.)

*** This is the portrait spoken of by the Baron Heineken.

3. "Ferdinand III. Rom. Imperator semper Aug. et Boh. Rex." A nearly full-faced portrait, long black hair, and wreath of laurel. Title on a tablet at the bottom, arched at the top, but with corners making the plate square: on the left at the bottom LS and opposite 1654. (Height 16½ inches, width 12¼.)

*** In the collection of the Archduke Charles.

4. Portrait of the Queen of Bohemia, with curled hair, wearing a crown, necklace and pearls, a handsome lace collar over the shoulders. An oval with square corners; in the lower left-hand corner, "G. Hondthorst pinxit Anno," and in opposite the corner, "L. à Siegen inventor fecit 1643." (Height 20¾ inches, width 16½.)

*** Supposed to be a unique print.

5. Portrait of the Prince of Orange, inscribed, "Guilhelmus D. G. Princeps Avriacvs, Comes Nassaviæ etc. MDCXLIIII," in one row of capital letters at the bottom; back-ground is engraved and cross-hatched; near the top "G. Honthorst pinxit. L. à Siegen inventor fecit 1644." (Height 21⅛ with the inscription, width 16½.)

*** Collection of Archduke Charles; companion to the Princess.

6. Portrait of the Princess of Orange, inscribed, "Augusta Maria Caroli M: B: Reg: Filia Guilhelmi Princ. Avr. Sponsa," in one row of capital letters at the bottom; the back-ground is engraved and cross-hatched; in the lower left-hand corner, "Hondthorst pinxit. L. à Siegen Inv(enit) et Fecit." (Height 21 inches with the inscription, width 16½.)

*** The portrait now exhibited.

7. St. Bruno. A whole-length figure kneeling, turned towards the right. An open book is before him with inscription; in the bottom margin are six verses, "Si natat in mundi ..... aderit;" on the left of the verses, "D'nis suis Patronis et Benefactoribus offert humllme Cartusia Ratisboniensis;" and on the right "In honorem, Sti Brunonis conterranei sui totiusque Cartusianæ ordinis fecit L. à S—gn S. a'o. 1654." (Height 9⅞ inches, margin 1¼, width 7⅞.)

*** Imp. Vienna.

Bartsch describes three Mezzotint engravings by this artist; and also mentions that there is a portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga, wife of Ferdinand the Second, by him; but I cannot obtain any in-

formation respecting this print, and in fact, believe it to be the one I have already described as the Queen of Bohemia (No. 4.)—Auleitungzur Kupperstikunde, von Adam von Bartsch. 8vo. Vienna, 1821.

Theodore Caspar à Fürstenbergh, flourished 1656.

1. Head of St. John the Baptist, large as life, on an oval charger; on the left "Theod. Casp. a. Furstenberg pinxit et sculpsit." (Length 18 inches, height 14⅛.)

*** Imperial Coll. at Vienna.

2. Portrait of the Emperor Leopold, a half-length, in armour, standing: he is turned a little towards the left, and holds a sceptre in his right hand; long black hair, no name or inscription. (Height 19¾ inches, width 15⅝.)

*** Coll. of Archduke Charles.

3. "Fredericus D. G. Marchio Badensis et Hachbergs," &c. three lines of titles. The bust of a round flat-faced man with a large wig, in armour; oval, with corners. (Height 10 inches, width 8¼.)

*** Coll. of Archduke Charles.

4. The Daughter of Herod taking the head of St. John from an aged woman, who is holding a candle in her left hand, and presenting the charger with her right, which the young woman receives with an averted head. (Height 7½ inches, width 5⅞.)

5. Portrait of Leopold William Archduke of Austria, &c. in an oval with square corners, the bust surrounded by an inscription of his name and titles. Underneath are the following Latin verses and inscription:

"Mavortem toto spiras, Dux inclyte, vultu
Mars novus; arte nova te celebrare decet.
Sub te Tyro fui; si quid vel Marte vel Arte
Discipulus didici, suscipe: utrumque tuum est.

Theodorus Casparus a Fürstenbergh Canonicus Capitularis Moguntiæ et Spiræ, Colonellus, ad uiuum pinxit, et fecit 1656."

6. A bust of Christ crowned with thorns, and surmounted by the nimbus, the left shoulder bared. Inscribed:

"Hunc sacrum, Leopolde, typum tibi dedico; Regis
est; Sed Cui Spinis plexa Corona riget.
Ex et in his Spinis crescet, Leopolde, Corona
Imperialis, eas quis nisi Cæsar amet?

Seruus Humillimus, Theodorus Casparus a Fürstenbergh fecit."

7. (*Doubtful.*) Virgin and Child after Corregio, seated, and turned to the left; head, in profile, bends over the Infant. At the top, an angel holding reeds or palm-branches; in the margin at the bottom, in capitals, "Maria in Ægypti solitudine. Corregi pinxit." (Height 18⅛ inches, width 15⅛.)

*** Dresden.

Rupert, Prince Palatine, born 1619.

1. The Executioner of St. John, with the decollated head in his right hand, and a drawn sword in his left, on which are the letters R. P. surmounted by a crown, date 1658. At the back of the figure the cross and scroll. (Height 25¼ inches, width 17½.)

*** All other impressions known have the following inscription on an entablature at the foot of the picture:

"*Sp.* = *In.* RVP. P. FECIT. FRANCOFVRTI. AN'O. 1658. M. =. A. P. R."

excepting one impression, which is in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, having only *Sp.* = *In.* (Spagnoletti invenit) on the entablature, and R.p.ff 1658 on the sword blade.

2. Portrait of a Magdalen, with clasped hands, looking upwards, long dark hair, inscribed:

"Rupertus D. G. C. P. D. B. Princeps Imperii Animi gratiâ lusit."

In the corner, "M. Merian pinxit." (Height 8⅞ inches, width 6½.)

3. Portrait, supposed to be the Prince, leaning on the left arm; the head resting on the right hand. Cap and feathers. (Height 8 inches, width 6⅜.)

*** There are copies of this print. I have one by W. Vaillant done in the lifetime of Rupert, and inscribed: "Prins Robbert, vinder van de Swarte Prent Konst," shewing the Prince claimed the invention as soon as he came over into England a second time, as Vaillant was an artist he brought with him.

4. A three-quarters length portrait, generally called "The Standard Bearer," in a slashed cap and feathers; the right hand grasping a standard; the left resting on a shield, on the edge of which is inscribed: "[1]658. Rup^{t}. P: Fec." (Height 11 inches, width 8⅛.)

5. The same portrait to the shoulders, but something larger, and looking more to the left. (Height 7⅛ inches, width 6½.)

6. The bust of an old man with bald head and flowing beard. "R. P." in the left-hand top corner. (5 inches square.)

7. The head of the Executioner of St. John (as No. 1.) in the right-hand top corner, (Height 5⅛ inches, width 6½.)

*** This is the head done for Mr. Evelyn's Sculptura, 8vo. 1662; in which Evelyn gives a chapter, "Of the new way of engraving, or Mezzotinto, *invented* and communicated by his Highnesse Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhyne, &c."—This head has been copied.

8. The same head looking to the *right*. *(Dubious.)*

9. A portrait of Oliver Cromwell, an oval, at the corners, "O. C. P. R. fc."

10. Another portrait of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo. appears unfinished; a portrait turned to the right. *** Bought at Sir Mark Sykes's sale, with No. 9, by Mrs. Sutherland. Now in the Bodleian Library.

11. A Monk in his Cell, with table and book, under a window admitting the light; it is behind the Monk. On the right of him is a chair, inscribed at the top "RVP. Pr. fec." (Length 5⅛ inches, width 4½.) *** In the collection of the Archduke Charles.

12. A Woman's Head, looking down, in an oval. (Walpole's History of Engravers, p. 75.)

H. W. D.

Fragment of a Roman Column found in London.

8th Dec. 1836. Extract of a letter from A. J. KEMPE, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, illustrative of the fragment of a presumed Roman Column, discovered in the progress of some recent works at Christ's Hospital, London:

"DEAR SIR, New Kent Road, Nov. 23rd, 1836.

"That Roman London was very densely populated, every excavation into its site affords convincing proof; urns, costly Samian vessels, extensive foundations of buildings, tessellated pavements, altars, styli, fibulæ, and coins, from time to time, bear incontestable testimony of its importance in the Romano-British Province.

"Why, then, are the remains of any edifices of a grand and imposing architectural character within its limits so rare, or rather altogether deficient? simply, I conceive, because the builders of the middle age converted all the stones which remained of the larger structures of LONDINIVM (and which for centuries after the departure of the Romans lay scattered over its site,) to their own purposes. The columns which adorned the temples, palaces, public baths, and buildings of the Roman colony were applied to use, and worked up in one form or other in the numerous monastic and ecclesiastical structures which now arose on their ground-plots. The tessellated pavements, with the foundations of private dwellings, being not so readily convertible to these purposes, were alone left to illustrate the topography of London as it existed in the Roman times.

"That such an adaptation of materials had really been the practice of the Saxo-Norman architects, a minute examination of the structures raised by them will fully convince us; and in the absence of any decided architectural features, it is no uncertain proof of the high antiquity of a building of the middle age, that Roman materials have been copiously employed in its construction.

"The testimony of some of the ancient monkish writers is very distinct as to the point referred to. Matthew Paris informs us, in the lives of his three-and-twenty Abbots of St. Alban's, that Ælfric, the eighth of that monastery, was wholly intent on searching the remains of the ancient city of Verulam, and in digging out the old foundations and arches remaining on its site, having determined to pull down and rebuild the mean fabric which then served for the abbey church. His successor in the abbacy, Eadmer, we learn from the same authority, was employed in further accumulating, from the same source, materials for the new church, and amassed from the ruins of Verulam a vast quantity of old Roman materials. He overthrew in this research the remains of a magnificent palace, probably the Prætorium of the station; squared stones, columns and tiles were added to his store; nay, in a recess in one of the ancient walls were found some manuscripts, which are described as of the Roman

age. The historian records that urns, lachrymatories, and (urcei) pitchers were found at the same time in abundance; but these were not in the same request as with the antiquary of the nineteenth century. The original passage of Matthew Paris relative to these discoveries is worthy of citation: 'Invenerunt fossores in fundamentis veterum edificiorum et concavitatibus subterraneis, urceos, et amphoras, opere fictili et tornatili decenter compositas. Vasa quoque vitrea, pulverem mortuorum continentia. Altaria subversa, et idola, et numismatum diversa genera, quibus utebantur.'[a] Every practical explorator of Roman antiquities will attest that the above account wears the stamp of truth. It is every day coincidentally confirmed by the discoveries within the limits of Roman London.

"The preceding observations tend to show the vast quantities of building materials which were left on the abandoned Roman stations; and I have now the pleasure to introduce to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries a very striking specimen of *the adaptation of an antique column, of considerable dimensions, of the Roman age, to Norman ecclesiastical architecture.*

"The relic referred to was found in the progress of the recent works at Christ's Hospital, in a part of the ruins of the Grey Friars' monastery, which formerly stood on the spot. It is a fluted pillar, the original circumference of which must have been at least four and a half or five feet; and it presents an interesting and not inelegant instance of a departure from the regular forms of ancient classic architecture, having been adorned (no doubt at intervals throughout its whole length) with bands of pendent leaves of the *lotus* kind, so that it assimilates in some degree with the Egyptian style. One side of this column has subsequently been worked into a triform cluster of pillars, if I judge correctly, about the time of Henry III. Now it will be recollected that the Franciscans or Friars Minors came into England in the year 1225, nearly about the same time with the Dominican or Preaching Friars, and that on the present site of Christ's Hospital they found an asylum by the liberality of John Edwin, a citizen of London.[b] Here, about 1239, was erected for their use a spacious church, on or near the site, I presume, of some important Roman edifice, whose ruins still encumbered the spot, or were revealed by the slightest excavation. Of this building the column under consideration was probably a member. The Grey Friars church was immediately contiguous to the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand, where, in 1819, when the foundations of the New Post Office were preparing, I myself saw very extensive vestiges of Roman vaultings; and in volume XXIV. of the Society's Archæologia, p. 300, an altar is engraved, bearing the figure of Apollo, which was discovered in erecting the new Goldsmiths'

[a] Matt. Paris in vitâ viginti-trium Abbat. Sci. Albani. edit. Wats.

[b] Stevens's Monasticon, vol. i. p. 111.

Hall in Foster-lane, close by. The Franciscans, it seems probable, took all convertible advantage of the remains of some Roman building in the immediate vicinity of their precinct when they were erecting their new church and offices, as the canons of St. Martin-le-Grand had previously shown them example; for, in a confirmation of their possessions Without Cripplegate, by a charter of King Stephen, they actually obtained a grant of *certain stones* of the *walls of London*, which had fallen down and encumbered the highway, running through their land. The walls which encircled London were probably erected in the third century of the Christian æra, and the lapse of nine hundred years, it appears, had brought them to a state of much dilapidation in the time of King Stephen.[c]

"I am, dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

"ALFRED J. KEMPE."

Cinerary Urn found in Deveril Street, Southwark.

15 Dec. 1836. ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. exhibited a Cinerary Urn of Earthenware, recently discovered in the Dissenters' burial ground in Deveril Street, New Dover Road.

It was of larger dimensions than one exhibited to the Society from the same place, by Mr. Kempe, on a former occasion.[d] The height, 10¼ inches; diameter at the top, 8 inches; at the swell of the body, 9½ inches; at the bottom, 3¾ inches. It was found placed *within a huge outer urn*, which was fractured, but of which some fragments are preserved in the smaller vessel.

The urn exhibited was of an elegant form, and perfect. It may be proper to mention that the Roman *Ustrinum* at Deveril Street was placed within two hundred yards of the line of the Kentish portion of the old Watling Street.

Map of the Roman Road between Staines and Silchester.

2nd Feb. 1837. Sir HENRY ELLIS exhibited to the Society a beautifully executed drawn Plan, which had recently been presented to him by John Narrien, Esq. one of the Professors at the Military College of Sandhurst, of the country between Staines and Silchester, on the line of the Roman road from London to Bath; reduced from a survey made in 1835 by some of the officers who were then students in the senior departmen[t]

[c] See Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church and Sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand, p. 64.

[d] See Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 470.

of the Royal Military College. Sir Henry Ellis believes that a survey of the line of the Roman road from Silchester to Hungerford has been continued by the exertions of some other officers of the Royal Military College.

Drawings from Ancient Paintings in St. Mary's Chapel at Guildford.

9th Feb. 1837. E. J. Carlos, Esq. exhibited to the Society seven Drawings from ancient Paintings in St. Mary's Church at Guildford in Surrey: some observations upon which, partly by Mr. Carlos and partly by J. G. Nichols, Esq. were read to the Society on Feb. 16th.

St. Mary's Church is an ancient building, the architecture of which is a compound of the Norman and Pointed styles; the former predominant in the detail and ornaments, the latter in the arches and windows of the structure. It consists of a nave and aisles, and a chancel, separated from the nave by a tower, and flanked by two chapels, so that the Church may be described as in two portions: the whole of the eastern part, comprising the chancel and chapels, is raised above the other portion, in consequence of the church being erected upon the slope of a hill. The chapels are likewise each composed of two portions answering to nave and chancel, the latter being semicircular in plan, and separated from the former by an arch.

The southern chapel still contains a screen of oak, which formerly constituted the back of the altar; it retains traces of colour, and a portion of the carving, and is now improperly termed a confessional.

The northern chapel has its chancel, a semicircular portion vaulted in three divisions; the ribs are stone, and the spandrils probably chalk. On the face of the vaulting, and on the spandrils of the arch which divides this portion of the chapel from its nave, are depicted the subjects here described.

The seven subjects first described are depicted upon the soffite of the vault. An oval compartment in the centre bears a representation of the Godhead seated: his right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, the left sustaining a book or table, inscribed with the letters Alpha and Omega.

The remaining subjects are upon the spaces intervening between the ribs of the vault, and occur in the following order, beginning from the south side.

1. Represents Christ passing Judgment. Before him a pardoned man kneeling in prayer, behind whom are two others dragged to judgment by demons.

2. A figure of Christ, before whom is a person placed within a font in a supplicating posture; a third figure is represented drawing water from a river by two buckets.

3. Earthly Judgment, represented in a group of five figures. A king seated, the accuser and witness standing, and a culprit suffering decapitation.

4. Heavenly Judgment. Several good souls represented as received into the bosom

of our Saviour: a bad man condemned to torment, which he is suffering in a tub-like receptacle from a figure armed with a flesh-hook.

5. The Death of the Wicked. A judge standing, holding a wand or rod, a scribe seated at a desk registering the sentence. Two figures extended dead upon the floor: a third drinking from a chalice.

6. The Death of the Good. The least defaced of all the subjects. It represents a corpse placed upon the ground attended by two priests: in the back-ground an altar, upon which is placed a chalice: above, the hand of Providence issuing from the clouds.

These six subjects are in circular compartments, the remainder of the soffite being filled with ornamental foliage, and two angels with censers, so placed as to appear on each side of the figure of the Deity first described.

In the spandril to the right hand of the altar an angel is represented weighing in scales the good and evil actions of a soul, the body belonging to which is represented below in a supplicating posture: the enemy of mankind placing his foot upon the evil scale. The corresponding spandril, considerably defaced, exhibits the departure of the damned, who are dragged away by demons, and driven by an angel with a sword. These subjects are on the face of the wall immediately over the opening to the semicircular chancel, and consequently face the nave of the chapel.

The ribs of the vault and the architrave of the arch are painted in various patterns.

Mr. Carlos considers these paintings as belonging to the close of the twelfth century, and that they are coeval with the structure which contains them. The existence of these paintings, he observes, is not even noticed in any work relating to the history either of the county or town. It is probable that the whole had been, at some time, covered with a coat of whitewash which concealed them from observation, which may account for the omission. It is not known, he adds, to what Saint either of the chapels was dedicated; but it appears that two guilds or fraternities existed here in the fifteenth century, one of which was the fraternity of Jesus, the other that of Corpus Christi, and there was also a chapel of St. John in some part of the present church.

Mr. Kempe's Observations on the Map of the Roman Road exhibited February 2d, by Sir Henry Ellis, more especially in reference to the site of "Calleva Attrebatum."

23rd Feb. 1837. Alfred John Kempe, Esq. communicated the following observations on the plan of the Roman Road surveyed by the gentlemen of the Military College at Sandhurst with reference to the real site of the Roman station 'Calleva Attrebatum.'

"Dear Sir, "New Kent Road, 15th Feb. 1837.

"The exhibition to the Society of Antiquaries of the beautiful and accurate Plan of

the Roman Road between Silchester and Staines, the result of a survey undertaken by the officers studying in the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst,[a] presents so fair an opportunity of offering a few observations on the opinion of Horsley, of Silchester being the ancient *Calleva Attrebatum*, that I venture to invite the attention of the Roman Antiquary to the subject. Until the publication of his lucid commentary on the Roman Itineraries of Britain, Silchester, on the authority of Camden, had been considered the ancient *Vindonum*, or *Vindomis;* and that station, the capital of a colony, settled in Britain before its invasion by Cæsar, bearing the name of *Segontiaci*, who surrendered to him on his second expedition.[b]

"Camden's opinion is thus expressed; after describing King's Clere and Odiam in Hampshire, he proceeds:—

"'Superiùs inter hos Segontiacos ad Septentrionalem agri limitem, locum habuit olim Segontiacorum Civitas, *Vindonum*, quæ, suo nomine exuto, gentis induit; ut Lutetia Parisiorum suorum nomen sibi assumpsit. *Caer Segonte* enim a Britannis vocabatur, id est *Segontiacorum civitas*, sic enim Nennius in urbium catalogo dixit, nos hodiè *Silecester* vocitamus.[c]'

"I quote the above portion of Camden's remarks in relation to the place at length, more particularly as I wish the orthography which he adopts for the name—*Sile*-chester—should be observed.

"Horsley saw reason to differ from Camden in assigning the locality of *Vindonum*, and placed it at Farnham (whether rightly or not is not the particular object of these remarks); Calleva at Silchester. Mention of this station, *Calleva Attrebatum*, occurs in no less than five of the Iters of Antoninus; and, by referring to the seventh of the Itinerary, we shall fall into the line of road from which, I think, the survey of the gentlemen of Sandhurst College does not deviate.

"I recapitulate the stages of this Iter, following Horsley's appropriations for them, on the modern map.

"A Regno Londinium—from Chichester to London—96 miles; Clausentum [Old Southampton] 20 miles; Ventam Belgarum [Winchester] 10 miles; Callevam Attrebatum [Silchester] 22 miles; Pontes [Old Windsor] 22 miles; Londinium [London] 22 miles. The survey laid before the Society has effected a material correction of Horsley; for it shews that the station *Pontes*, which he places at Old Windsor, and for which so many different places have been assigned by the learned in Roman topography, must have been where the Roman road from London crossed the Thames at Staines. From Pontes the Roman agger pursues its course through various now unfrequented localities, noted in the interesting Report of the survey, to the east gate of the station at Silchester,

[a] See United Service Journal, Jan. 1836.

[b] Cæs. Comment. lib. v. cap. vii.

[c] Camd. Britann. in Belgis. Edit. princeps, p. 156.

passing in its course through the demesne of the Duke of Wellington; where it gives name to the two adjacent parochial districts, *Strat-field* Say and *Strat-field* Turges; but the line of road presents no place for the chief city of the Attrebates until it arrives at the walls of Silchester. Is this, then, really the *Calleva* Attrebatum? The distance between Pontes and Calleva, according to the Itinerary, is 22 miles; by the Survey, the distance between Staines and Silchester is 26; a conformity as near as can be required, for neither the length of the Roman mile, nor the mode of measuring it, agreed precisely with ours.

"Five times, I have said, is Calleva mentioned in the Itinerary as traversed by the Roman line of march from various directions; not less than four Roman roads are traceable from it at this day: but the strongest proof that it was really the ancient Calleva may, after all, be found in the circumstance that some traces of its former name are preserved in the present. Like many other ancient cities of Britain, Silchester was known by various appellations. We shall see if any of these had an identity of origin. Nennius, in his Catalogue of British Cities, calls it *Caer Seyont;* perhaps merely with reference to the inhabitants of the district in which it was placed. This distinction was probably merged in the Itinerary, in its connexion with the more important province of the Attrebates, on whose confines it immediately stood. Nennius tells us it was also called *Murimintum;* an appellation which we must consider had allusion to its *wall*, which, even to this day, is so strikingly characteristic of its site. The term Galleva, or Calleva, of the Roman Itineraries, appears to have had the same source, and was but a softened form of the British *Gual Vawr*, or the *Great Wall;* both names had their root, perhaps, in the Greek χάλιξ (silex), whence also the French *Caillon* (a pebble). *Sile*-chester or Silchester is therefore but a *Saxonizing*, to use the term, of Silicis Castrum, the fortress of the Flint or Wall, by the easy metonymy which I have shewn. The Greek lexicographer[d] says, that χάλικες are the small stones of which buildings are constructed, "ut sunt silices," "et cementa," and cites Thucydides for authority, *ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πήλος ἦν.*

"Nennius ascribes the foundation of Silchester to Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great. Whatever improvements he might have made in its buildings or defences, I cannot but think it had a much earlier origin: as the chief fastness or forest stronghold of the Segontiaci, it probably existed at the time of Cæsar's expedition into Britain. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna gives it a name which I have not yet noticed, *Ard-oneon;* this is a pure *British* compound, and may be read *Ardal Onion*, the region of Einion or Onion. Now it happens, by the circumstantial tenacity of tradition, that an arch or cavern in the massive walls of Silchester is called to this day

[d] Scapula in voce χάλιξ.

Onion's Hole, and Camden bears testimony that, in his time, the numerous coins found within its limits were called *Onion's* pennies.

"'Onioni denarii quem Gigantem fuisse et hanc urbem incoluisse somniant.'

"These coins are chiefly, I believe, of the *lower empire*, and attest the large population of the place at that period. I cannot, however, with the venerable and judicious Camden, esteem the tradition concerning the Giant Onion altogether as a dream; doubtless he was some great chieftain of the Segontian weald; the lord of Silchester before its *siliceous* rampire was raised, when its defences were constructed of earth and the felled trees of the surrounding woods. The form of the station shews that its original ground-plot was not Roman. See the plan of Silchester annexed. Einion may, therefore, be compared to one of those beings of primeval times whom the Scripture terms *Giants*; a race of more bodily power than man possesses in his civilised condition; for in savage life the corporeal energies are more fully developed: to which we may add, that the hardihood, temperance, and exercise, which must be practised in a life so destitute of luxurious indulgence, induce, of necessity, no small degree of natural prowess. Thus personal strength was, in the heroic ages, a highly honourable quality.

"The inscription found at Silchester in 1732, by which one Tammonius dedicated an altar to the Segontian Hercules, has confirmed the account of Nennius that it was the city of that tribe; it runs to this effect:—

"'Deo Herculi Sægontiacorum, Titus Tammonius, Sænii Tammonii Vitalis filius, ob honorem . . . . .

"Another, discovered at the place about the same period, shows, however, that it might claim a much earlier period of occupation by the Romans than that assigned by the above writer. This last inscription was in compliment to Julia Domna, as patroness of the Roman army and senate. She was a Syrian by birth, and second wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

"'Juliæ Augustæ Matri Senatus et Castrorum, M: Sabinus Victor*inus* ob *honorem* *posuit*."[e]

"When I visited Silchester, some thirty years since, I saw at the farm house, just within the eastern gate, a gold coin of Domitian in the highest preservation; a bronze key ring, and other relics of the Roman age. In the yard lay some fragments of stone columns of considerable size. With these articles may be enumerated some Penates of bronze, and the gold ring described in the eighth volume of the Archæologia, p. 449, bearing these letters:—SE | NI | CIA | NE | VI | VA | S | II | NDE. Of this, by comparison with a ring (an impression of which has been shewn me by my friend Mr. Nichols), found at Brancaster, Norfolk, I am able to correct a former suggestion[f]

[e] The words in italics are supplied.

[f] Gent. Mag. Feb. 1833, p. 124.

of mine, and to read, I believe, the inscription rightly. The relic was, I consider, a sort of *annulus Amicitiæ*, the gift of some Christian of the Roman times to his friend *Senecianus*; the legend a pious aspiration—"Seneciane, vivas in Deo." In the ring was set an antique intaglio of *Venus Urania*: this addition was merely ornamental.

"In no spot in Britain exists more striking evidence of the devastation effected by the northern barbarians on the Romano-British colonies, than in the deserted area once occupied by the Segontian city. The site is left as bare and houseless as Anderida, which the fierce Ella rased to the ground in the fifth century; about which time Silchester probably underwent the same fate. The tradition of the neighbouring cottagers is, that it was destroyed by wild-fire, attached by the besiegers to the *tails of sparrows*; a figure, perhaps, truly recording the main catastrophe, and the fact that it underwent an assault by *igneous missiles*: a deep mystery, however, pervades the story of the rise and fall of Silchester.

"The stupendous walls of Silchester, chiefly built of flint pebbles, have alone, of all its buildings, defied the exterminating ruin, and remain to this hour silent witnesses of the city's ancient grandeur. The soil accumulated on their surface nourishes many lofty forest oaks, singular and interesting appendages of the indestructible flinty rampire.

"It may be recollected that in 1833 the remains of some magnificent baths were discovered at Silchester. Of this circumstance I sent at the time some account to the Gentleman's Magazine[g]; to which communication incidental reference has occasionally, in the course of these notes, been made. From the same source I beg to detail one remarkable fact:—The baths at Silchester bore a corresponding similarity of arrangement with that of the ancient baths in the island of Lipari, so interestingly described in the Archæologia by Captain Smyth.[h] 'In the *natatio*, or cold-water bath at Silchester, was found a *human skeleton*, and in the leaden pipe connected with the bath upwards of 200 Roman coins of brass.'

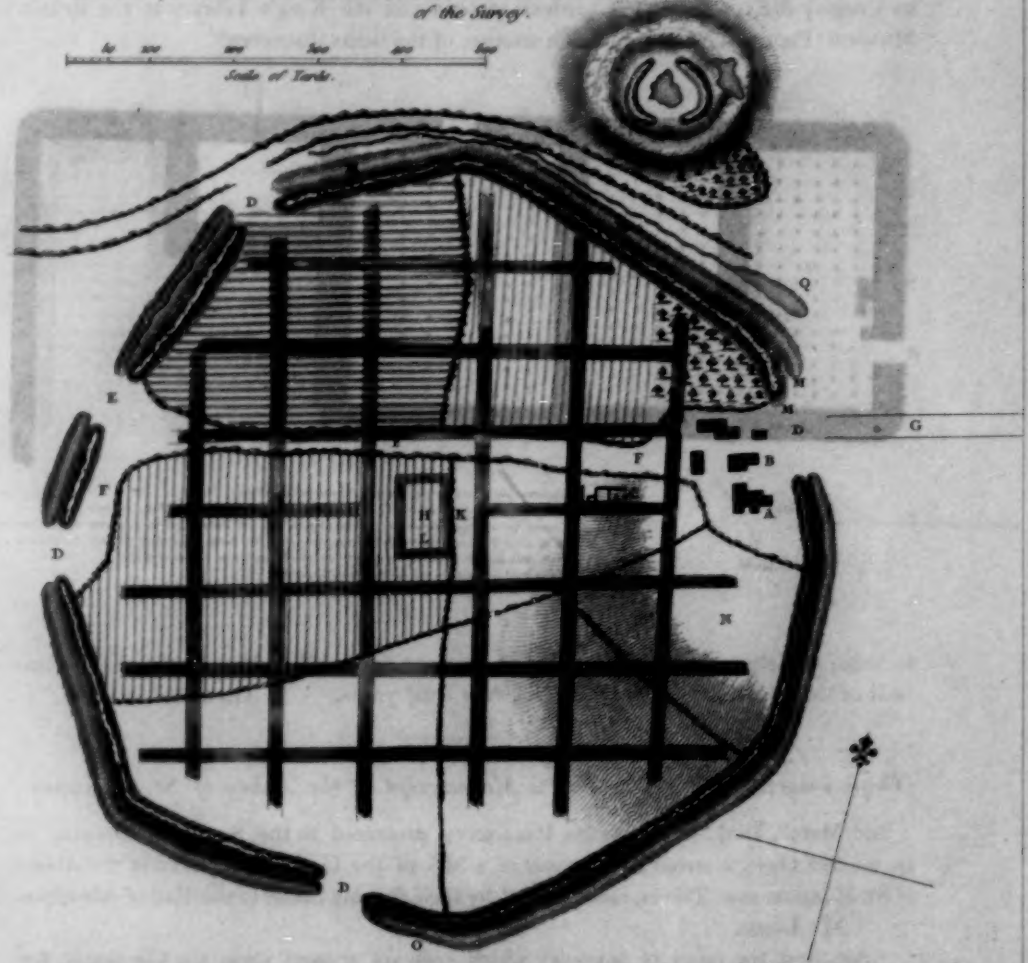
"The tessellated floors of the Silcestrian Thermæ were thickly strewed with wood ashes, and the fragments of tiles that had formed the roof; appearances which I have noted in almost all remains of Roman edifices or villas discovered in Britain. I need not remind the antiquary how frequently *charred corn* is found in Roman buildings. These circumstances clearly indicate the destruction of public and private dwellings, granaries, &c. by violence and fire.

"In the absence of an actual survey of the remaining vestiges of Silchester, and of the roads and earthworks in its neighbourhood, (an undertaking, I conceive, by no means unworthy, at some favourable period, of the attention of the Society of Antiquaries), I beg to illustrate these notes with a plan of its amphitheatre, its walls, and the course of

[g] Gent. Mag. Feb. 1833. [h] Archæol. vol. xxii. p. 98.

A Sketch for compiling a Ground Plan of Silchester in Hampshire, chiefly founded on actual surveys, made about the year 1745, and preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum.

The cross-lines indicate the course of the ancient Streets. They are inserted on the authority of the Plan of Mr. John Wright; but that they could be traced with so much regularity, in 1745, appears somewhat questionable. The transverse parallel lines, denote land under Plough at the time of the Survey.

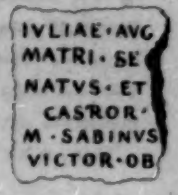


References. A. *The Church.* B. *The Farm House and Yard.* C. *The Butts; discovered 1788.* DDDD. *The four original Gates of the City.* E. *A modern breach in the Walls.* FFF. *The Road leading from the Village of Silchester to the Church.* G. *Part of the Road leading from Stratton (Portus) to Silchester, (Calleva Atrebatum) of which a Survey was made in 1764, by the Gentlemen of Sandhurst College.* H. *The Forum.* K. *The Site of a Temple.* L. *The Inscription to Hercules was found on this spot.* MM. *Wall, and portion of it fallen into the Fosse.* N. *A spot where so much Coin has been found, that it obtained the name of Silver Hill.* O. *The Chasm in the Wall, called Onions Hole, from the tradition that one Onion, a Giant, inhabited the City.* P. *The Amphitheatre of the Station, diameter 60 yards, the Arena, at the time of the Survey, was converted into a Pond.* Q. *A Rivulet in the Fosse.*

Found circ. 1730.

Sectional Sketch of the Walls, &c.

1. *The Lower portion of the Wall.* 2. *The upper portion fallen into the Fosse.* 3. *The Fosse.* 4. *The outer Vallum.* 5. *One of the Oaks growing on the Walls.*

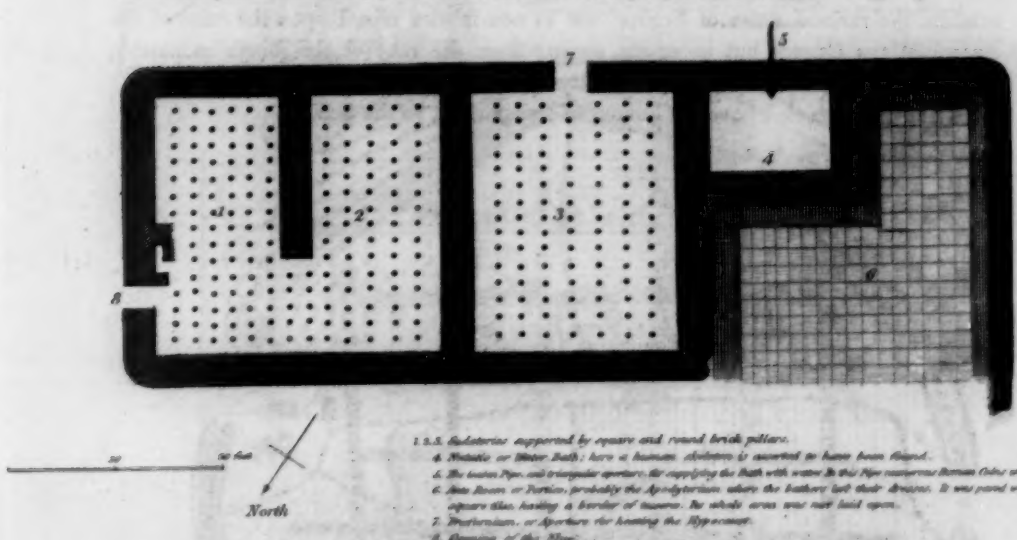


Found circ. 1790.

The first Inscription is to the Honour of the Segontiaci, which proves the identity of Silchester with the Caer Segont of British writers. The second Inscription is in honour of Julia Domna, a Syrian by birth, 3rd wife of the Emperor Severus. She was the Mother of Caracalla and Geta, and died circ. A.D. 217. She is styled among other titles on Medals, Mater Augg. Mater Sen. Mater Castrorum. The two last titles, as on the inscribed tablet. This Relic, shews that Silchester may claim a much earlier origin than the period of Constantine.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 28th April, 1803.

its streets; derived from some inedited materials in the King's Library at the British Museum (Plate XXXII.); and with another of the baths discovered



in 1833, politely communicated to me at the time by the Rev. Mr. Coles, the incumbent of the parish. I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours, ALFRED J. KEMPE."

Onyx inserted in the Cover of a Manuscript at the Abbey of St. Maximin.

2nd March, 1837. Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE presented to the Society a Drawing of an ancient Onyx inserted in the cover of a MS. of the Gospels preserved at the Abbey of St. Maximin near Trèves, accompanied by the following Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen.

"MY LORD,

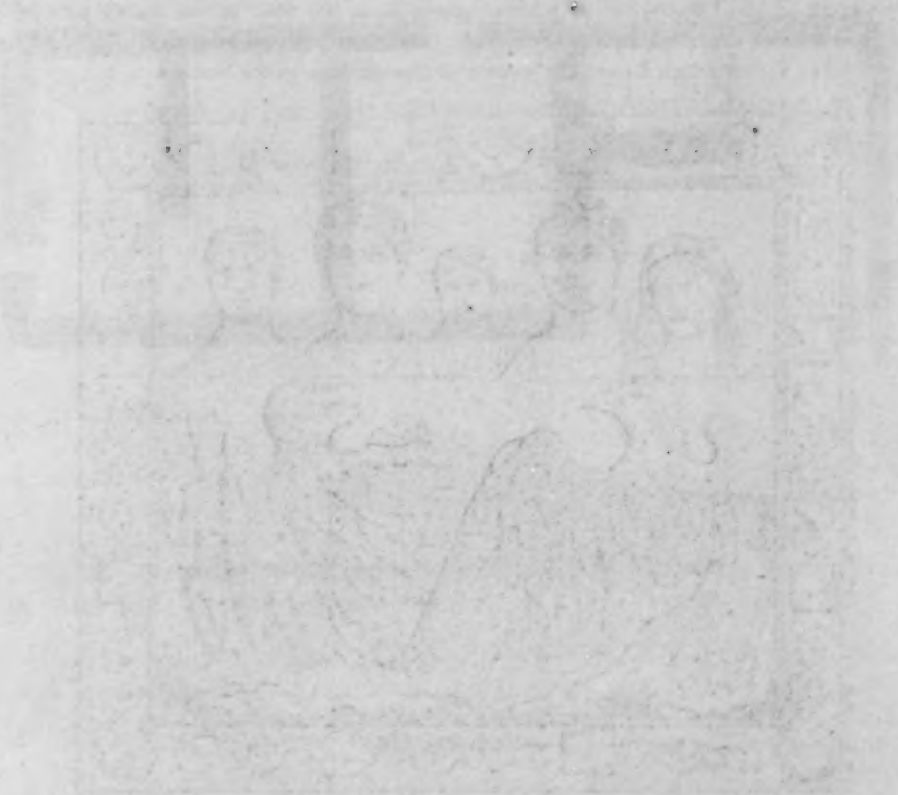
"Amongst the relics of antiquity which even yet abound upon the Continent, few are more interesting than those, which, without much impropriety, we may call the remains of the Carlovingian collections. By these, I mean objects of classical antiquity, principally gems, which, having come into the possession of the Emperor of the West, or of his immediate successors, were bestowed upon various religious foundations, as tokens of respect and honour. Their value, considered as works of art merely, is very unequal. Some are of good, if not of the best period of Grecian skill, others in the uncouth taste of the Byzantine empire; but all are of high importance in the history of mediæval civilisation. For, by familiarising the Frank and the Lombard with the

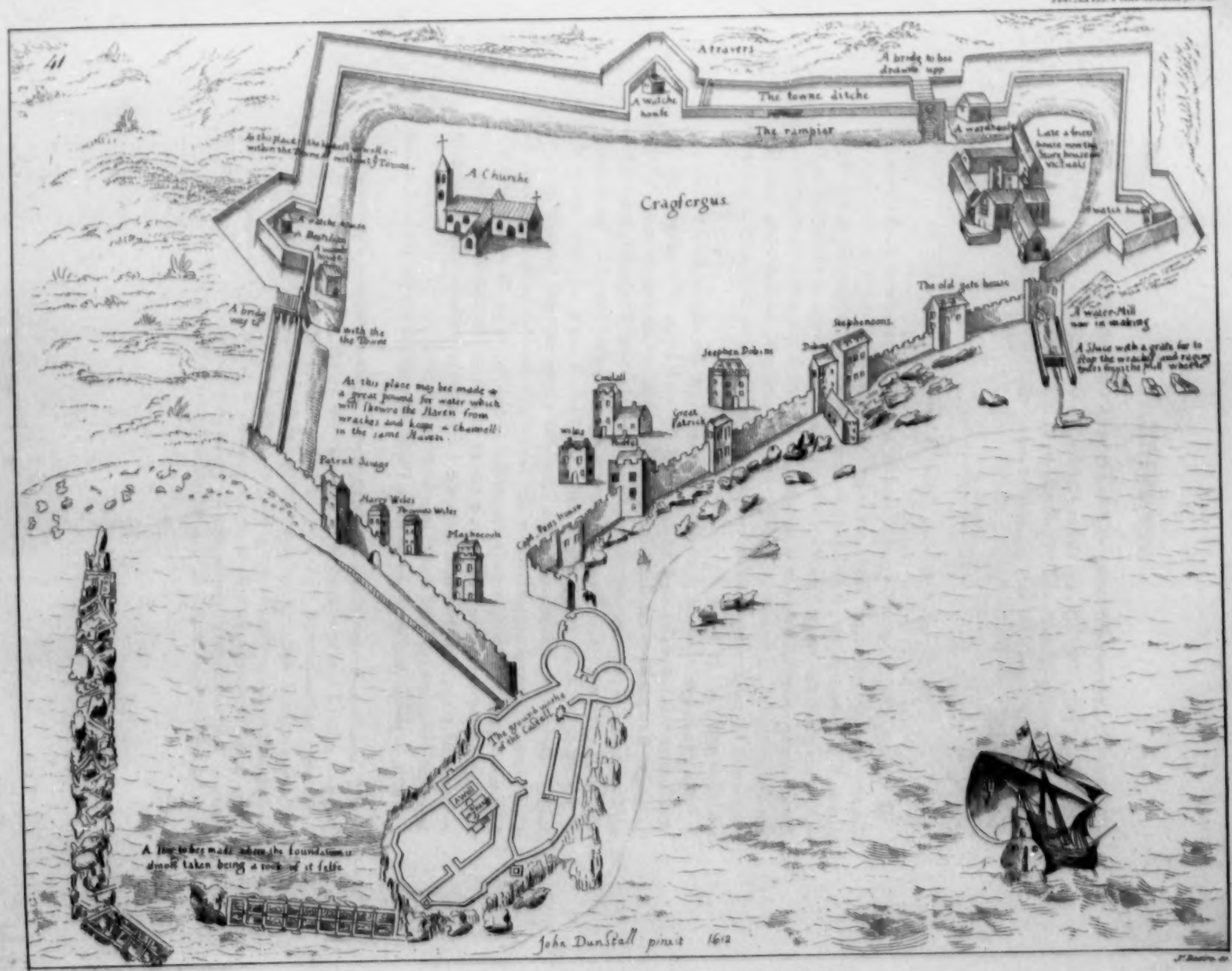
outward forms and aspect of Roman society, they contributed, scarcely less than the study of Roman literature, to keep up that moral connexion with the Eternal City which exhibits the various states of Europe, not as new fabrics raised upon the ruins of the empire of the Cæsars, but as scions, sprung from the root of the fourth monarchy, from whence they first derived their vitality and their political existence.

"The sketch which I have the honour of transmitting to the Society

represents a fine monument of this class, hitherto inedited. It is an Onyx, inserted in the cover of a MS. of the Gospels, presented either by Charlemagne or by his sister Ada, to the abbey of St. Maximin near Trèves. The volume is now preserved in the Public Library of the University of that city.

"The drawing, which is very accurate, renders any description unnecessary, and, as there is no inscription, it must be left to the classical Antiquary to conjecture the name of the imperial family represented upon the gem. At Trèves, we heard it generally referred to the members of the family of Augustus. This is merely a conjecture; but the style of the workmanship will scarcely permit us to place it lower than the age of the Antonines. I have the honour to remain, &c. FRANCIS PALGRAVE."





Ancient Drawing of the Town of Carrickfergus.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 20th 1824.

Ancient Drawing of the Town of Carrickfergus.

9th March, 1837. Sir Henry Ellis exhibited to the Society an accurate copy of an ancient drawing of the town of Carrickfergus in Ireland, made in 1612. (See Plate XXXIII.) The original of which is preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

Specimen of Ancient Damask or Diaper Linen.

March 9th, 1837. John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited a specimen of Ancient Damask or Diaper Linen, supposed to be a Hand-Towel of the time of Henry VIII.; accompanying it with the following remarks in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

"By favour of the owner, Mrs. Colchester, I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society a very beautiful specimen of ancient Linen, which displays at once the extreme fineness of texture, the perfection of the art of weaving in damask-work, and the elegance of the patterns employed, which prevailed in that manufacture more than three centuries ago.

"The article is a napkin, or 'hand-towell,' probably of Flemish or French manufacture, though unquestionably made for the use of the royal court of England. In the volume of Regulations of the Royal Household (published by the Society in 1790) 'the cloth of raynes' is frequently mentioned, from the time of King Edward IV. downwards, and at the christening of a Prince or Princess, in the time of Henry VII. the Serjeant of the Pantry attended with a golden salt-cellar, 'with a towel of raynes about his neck.' This, it may be presumed, was linen which took its name from Rheims in Champagne. Subsequently, in Henry the Eighth's Ordinances made at Eltham, we find the several articles of table linen, made of 'fine Diaper in Damascue worke,'[a] divided into the several classes of 'great pieces,' long breakfast cloths, short ones of 3 yards the piece, hand towels, and napkins. It appears probable that the present relic would most correctly be classed as a hand-towel.

"It is 46 inches long by 30 inches wide. The interior field of the pattern is 31 inches

[a] The term *Damask* is said to have been first applied by the manufacturers of Flanders to those linens which they figured in imitation of the silks originally made at Damascus in Syria. A very similar effect was produced, by a well-known and still practised process, on the blades of swords and other weapons of steel; and is distinguished by a similar name. What the older *Diaper* work was—a small regular pattern—we may gather from its appearance as borrowed in heraldry, where it was applied to ornament the fields or ordinaries, without interfering with their stated colours or charges. It is also frequently seen covering the backgrounds of old pictures and illuminations, as in the portrait of Richard the Second in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

high by 21, and is occupied by the Royal Arms, as borne by the House of Tudor. The shield, of France and England quarterly, is of the correct heraldic form, surrounded by the Garter, and supported on the dexter side by the Tudor dragon and on the sinister by the collared greyhound derived from the honour of Richmond. The shield is represented as suspended by a strap and buckle from a royal helmet, which is surmounted by a crown. Both the latter are drawn on a large scale in proportion to the shield, occupying together the depth of 12 inches. The crown is surrounded by alternate crosses and fleurs de lis, and has open arches surmounted by a cross. The area above the heads of the supporters is filled with mantling, flowing from the helmet. The motto on the Garter is inscribed,

(HONY . SOIT . QVI . MAL . Y . PENCE .)

in Roman capitals such as were usual in the time of Henry VIII. There is no motto below the shield; nor any roses or other badge; but some natural (not heraldic) flowers, as columbines, heartsease, &c. are represented as growing from the ground on which the royal atchievement is placed.

"Below the principal compartment are two borders.

"The first is 3 inches wide; composed of foliage, a winged cherub's head in the centre, and at each end a winged boy kneeling on one knee. The second border is 4½ inches wide, and is composed of closer arabesques, among which occurs in the centre a man spearing a stag, at one end a huntsman blowing his horn, and a dog, and at the other a boar; and in the intermediate spaces two sculls in circular frames. The latter border is also repeated at the top of the napkin.

"At the extreme top and foot is a small chequy pattern.

"The sides of the napkin are ornamented with arabesque pillars, at the foot of which are cherubs' heads, and at the top of each a naked human figure with long hair.

"I have been thus particular in describing the patterns of the damask, because all the portions will be fully satisfactory to those acquainted with the ornaments of the Tudor period, that the whole workmanship is coeval and concordant in style, and that whether we look to the forms of the heraldic animals, the helmet, the crown, the letters, or the ornaments, every point confirms the opinion that this is a genuine relic of that age, and not an imitation. I may here mention that the traditional account of the napkin is, that it was made for the Coronation of Henry VII.; but Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A. one of the most competent judges on matters of this sort, informs me that the arabesque pillars at the sides are not of an earlier period than the reign of Henry VIII.

"The texture is remarkably fine; yet the perfect preservation of the cloth is perhaps its most striking particular. Having been occasionally washed, it is now as white as when first bleached; and one small hole only, which is mended with the utmost delicacy, can be detected. It is now the property of Mrs. Colchester, the wife of a mer-

chant of London, to whom it came on the death of her aunt, a very old lady, who died about the year 1770. It was kept, when in the possession of the latter, with some other linen said to have been of a similar texture, and called *King's Linen*. This lady was descended from the family of Sparrowe of Ipswich, of whom it is said in Clarke's History of that town, that they 'seem to have been more intimately connected with the corporation of Ipswich than any family on record; and for centuries resided in the parish of St. Lawrence.' The name of Mr. Bailiff Sparrowe occurs in the year 1540, and a gentleman of the same name was Town Clerk when Mr. Clarke's book was printed in 1830. In the 17th century we are further told the head of the family 'built the great house in Thurlston, which is still called the Sparrows' Nest;' and over the family vault in St. Lawrence's church is the same appellation inscribed in Latin, NIDUS PASSERUM.

"A very curious mansion is still standing in the Buttermarket at Ipswich, which is said to have been built by Mr. Robert Sparrowe in the year 1567: but its present exterior is of the period of Charles the First, being highly ornamented in plaster with bas-reliefs of the Four Quarters of the World, the Royal Arms of the Stuart family, and other devices. A view of this house is given in Mr. Clarke's History, and another in the 'Excursions through Suffolk.' Nothing is more common in old mansions than to find the royal arms placed in some conspicuous situation; and probably not only in those which were erected by persons that held office under the Crown, but in those of every loyal subject who had acquired opulence and distinction. But this practice did not extend to furniture or household stuff; and there can be no question that the present piece of 'naperie' was made for Royal use. Beyond the circumstance that the Sparrows were the leading family at Ipswich, there appears nothing to account for their having been possessed of the stock of 'King's Linen.' If, however, we look for other households at Ipswich from which it may have passed into theirs, we find at the period in question that the Duke of Suffolk, King Henry's brother-in-law, and Sir Anthony Wingfield his Vice-Chamberlain, both had houses there, and at the same æra it was the place selected by Cardinal Wolsey for the seat of one of his Colleges. There seems nothing more probable than its transfer from the 'naperie chestes' of the Brandons or the Wingfields to the Sparrows' Nest; nor is it unlikely that this very napkin was used in the service of Queen Elizabeth when her Virgin Majesty visited Ipswich in the year 1561."

Representation of the Siege of Therouenne in France, A. D. 1553.

8th June 1837. Sir HENRY ELLIS exhibited to the Society a fac-simile of a drawing preserved among others in the collection of MSS. now in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to Sir Robert Cotton; evidently made by an Engineer, and representing the Siege of Therouenne in France, in 1553, with the positions of all the besieging parties. (Plate XXXIV.)

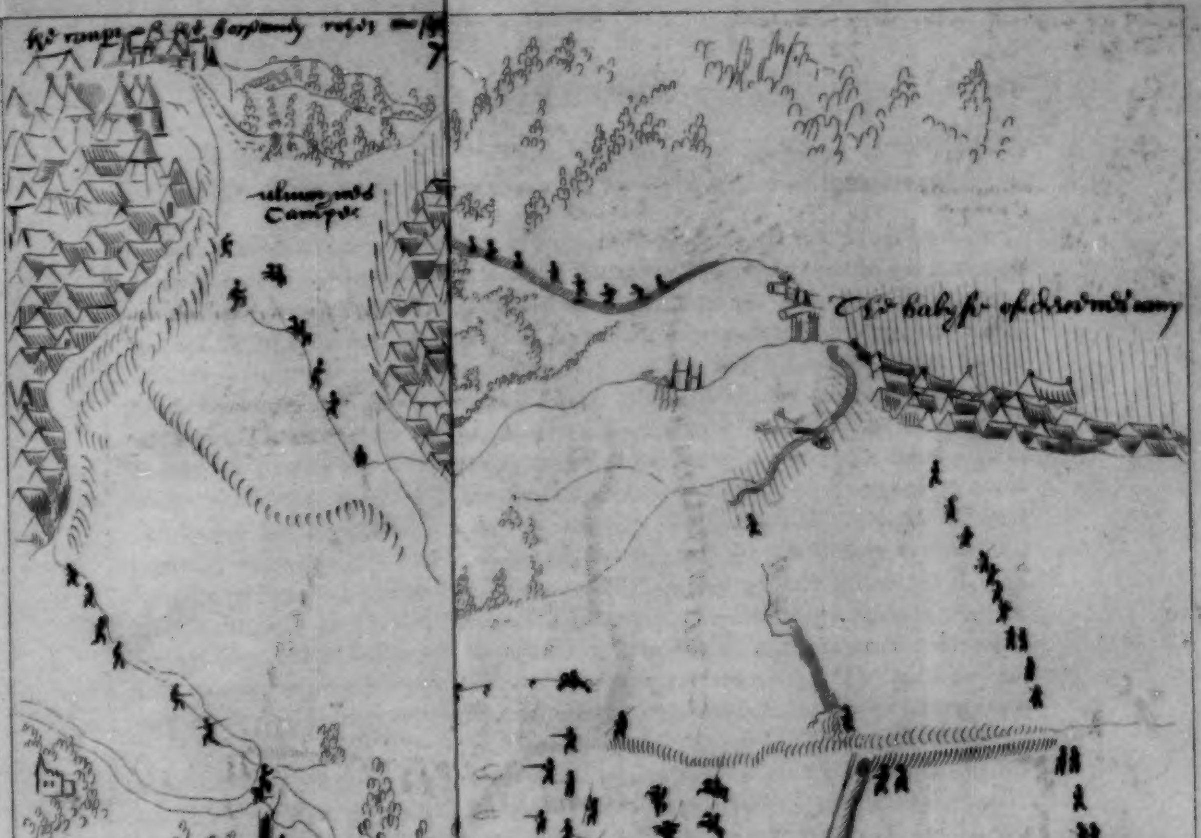
The siege commenced on the 13th of April in that year: the city was surrendered on Tuesday the 20th June. Historians say its inhabitants were numerous; they differ in their detail of numbers from twelve to twenty thousand. Charles the Fifth, that it might never again fall into the hands of the French, ordered it immediately to be erased from the cities of the world. The Seigneur de Vitry superintended its demolition, which was effected, partly by the gendarmerie of St. Omer, and partly by labourers hired from the neighbouring villages. The work of destruction occupied fifteen days. The site of this city is still surrounded by a fosse, in one or two parts very deep. The outline of the cathedral is traceable upon the spot designated in the drawing; but the demolition of the place was complete; not one single stone remains upon another either within or without the area; though the ground plot is perfect, and distinct to the visitor.

Sir Henry Ellis, in a short excursion for the purpose of examining the different towns formerly possessed by the English in Picardy and its neighbourhood, in 1833, visited Therouenne. In the time of Henry the Eighth it was considered a place of so great strength that Francis the First was used to say, that Therouenne, and Acq in Provence, were two pillows on which the King of France could sleep in peace. His successor, it was observed, should have watched this guarantee of his repose with greater care.

In later times, and in the improved condition of artillery and military architecture, it is probable that Therouenne would not have been considered a place of such impregnable strength. It was in fact, though a city, not larger than the present town of Ardres, near Calais.

Portrait of Anthony Bastard of Burgundy.

15th June 1837. The following Letter was read from J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq. F.S.A. addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, descriptive of an ancient portrait of Anthony Bastard of Burgundy.



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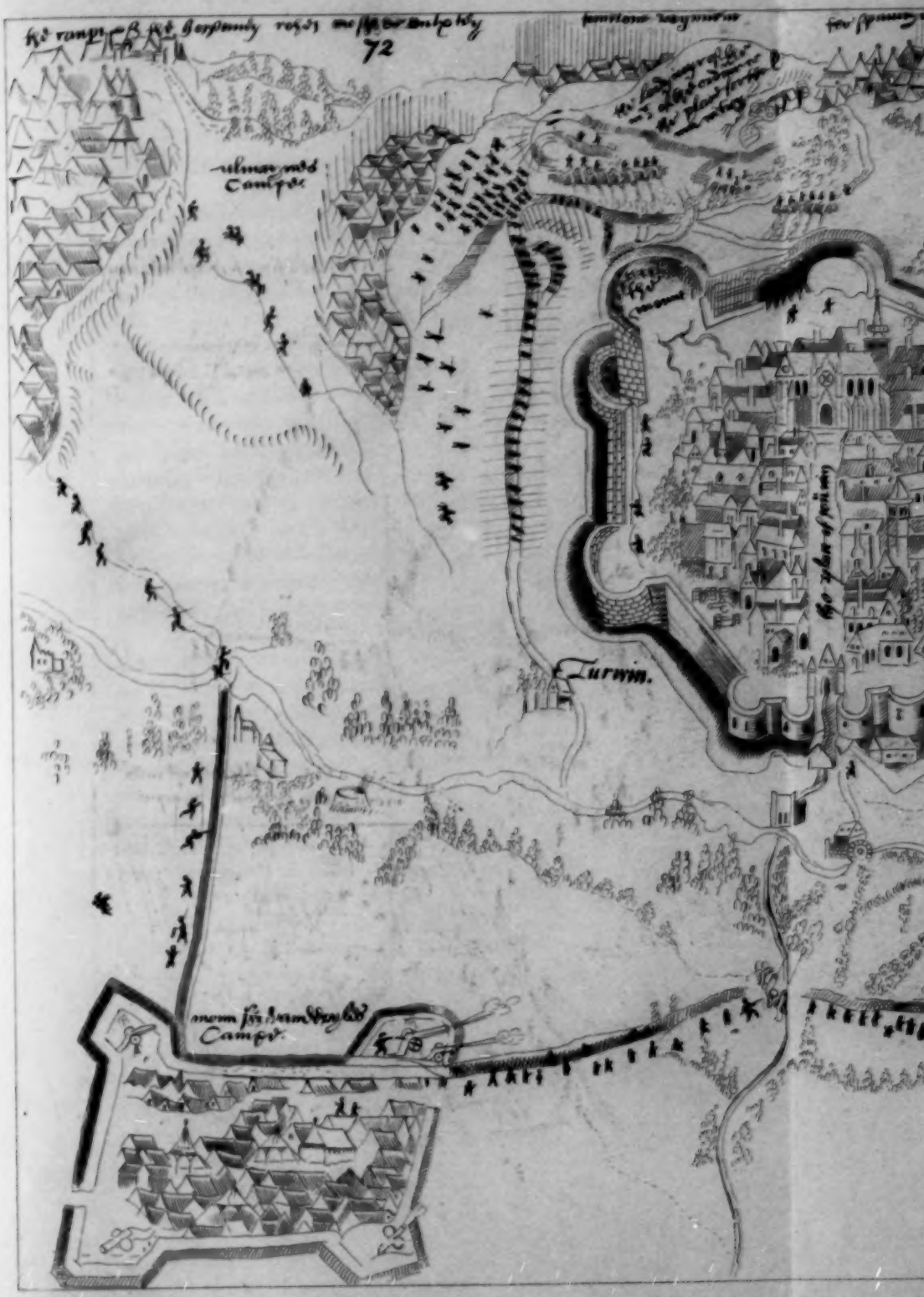


Siege of Therouenne

Vol. XXVII Plate XXXIV p. 494

in France. A.D. 1553.

"My dear Sir, Brompton Crescent, June 6, 1837.

"Her Grace the Duchess Countess of Sutherland having lately done me the honour to consult me respecting a picture she has purchased purporting to be a contemporaneous portrait of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, I recognised in the fourth vol. of Montfaucon's Monarchie Française, plate 23, p. 142, an engraving which corresponded with it, and which is therein stated to be copied from a drawing in the portfolio of Mons. de Gagnieres in the Royal Library at Paris, and to represent not Charles the Bold, but his illegitimate brother, the celebrated Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy: a statement which is confirmed by the interesting fact, that the badge and war-cry of Anthony, as they appear on a medal in the collection of Monsieur Moreau de Mautour, engraved in the same plate in Montfaucon, are painted at the back of the portrait in her Grace's possession; the badge being what Montfaucon describes, 'une espece de Pavillon,' surrounded by flames, and the war-cry or motto, 'Nul ne si frote.' This discovery induced me to request a friend in Paris to send me a sketch of the drawing in the Royal Library with any information he could find concerning it. The sketch proved incontrovertibly that the drawing of Mons. de Gagnieres must have been copied from the picture now in Hamilton Place, or from some fac-simile of it, as it contains the left arm and hand, reposing on something like the sill of a window, which do not appear in the engraving in Montfaucon, the head and shoulders only being there given. But my friend could meet with no account of the original picture, or information as to the artist who painted it, or the collection in which it was at the time Mons. de Gagnieres copied it. A Polish nobleman now in this country has informed her Grace that he well remembers the picture having formerly belonged to Count Joseph Sierakowski of Warsaw; by whom it was always designated as the portrait of Charles the Bold; but there its history terminates. Some curious points, however, about the picture itself, will, I think, be considered worthy of the attention of the Society, and may contribute to throw some light upon the period at which it was painted, and the history of the person represented. In the first place the badge at the back of the picture, and of which a drawing has been kindly made by her Grace, is in itself a subject for speculation.

"Montfaucon, I have already observed, calls it 'une espece de Pavillon,' which may be translated either 'a tent,' or 'a flag,' and in the medal he has made it look like the latter; but in his Latin text he uses the word 'Pannus,' which is simply 'a cloth.' It is evident, therefore, that he was himself ignorant of what it was really meant to represent, and no reliance can be placed upon the engraving, as many of the plates in his work are wofully incorrect. On the back of the picture in Hamilton Place the figure has the appearance of being composed of planks of wood, with fire coming through the centre. Oliver de la Marche says, that at the siege of Oudenarde, A.D. 1452, 'Antoine portoit pour enseigne un grand etendart blanc a une *barbacane* de bro-

dure;[a] and at the Pas de l'Arbe d'Or, sixteen years afterwards, the same author describes him as issuing from his pavilion to oppose Messire Jehan de Luxembourg, on a horse, trapped with tawny velvet, embroidered with large 'Barbacanes,' with flames issuing out of them, and letters of his device all worked in gold thread.[b] Now 'Barbacane' is explained by Roquefort to mean not only a tower or the loop-hole of a battlement through which arrows and other missiles were discharged, but any sort of outwork, whether of wood or of masonry, 'cloison de planches,' &c.; and Cotgrave, under the same word, says, 'some hold it also to be a scutrie, scout house, or hole, and thereupon our Chaucer useth the word for a watch tower.' Whether or not this figure is intended to represent the barbacane of Oliver de la Marche with flames coming through the centre, and, according to Roquefort and Cotgrave, a scout house composed of planks of wood, under cover of which aim might be taken at, or the motions espied of, an enemy, remains to be decided. My opinion is in favour of the probability. In the Lansdowne MS. No. 285,[c] containing a detailed account of the joust in Smithfield between the Bastard and Lord Scales, the seventh horse in the train of the former at his grand entry into the lists on the first day, is described to have been 'trappid in grene velewet, powdyrd with barbacans richely made.' In another part, his word or motto, 'null' ne cy frete,' is said to have been embroidered on the green velvet valence of his tent; but no mention is made of such a badge accompanying it. The same figure as in the drawing before you is, however, to be seen upon one of the sails of a ship on the seal of Anthony's great grandson, the Lord of Wacken and Cappelle, and Vice-Admiral of the Sea, engraved in Olivarius Vredius's Genealogia Comitum Flandriæ. There can be no doubt, consequently, of its being the recognised badge of the family; and little, I repeat, in my opinion, of its being the barbican so frequently alluded to.[d] The next point of interest presents itself in the letters, which on the back of the picture are connected with the badge by the golden cords so frequently introduced on the seals, &c. of the Burgundian family. These letters are I. N. E. or N. I. E. as it may please you to read them. The most

[a] Memoires, sub anno.

[b] Ibid. sub anno 1468. "Si tost que le dit Messire Jehan de Luxembourg eut faict le tour accustomé, saillit le Chevalier de l'Arbre d'Or (i. e. the Bastard of Burgundy, who had assumed that title,) son cheval couvert de velours tauné a grand barbacanes de fil d'or en brodure, et lettres de mesmes a sa devise, et dicelles barbacanes issoyent flames de feu."

[c] See also Harleian MS. 4632, and MSS. Heralds' College, L. 5. Arundel Coll. No. 48.

[d] It is singular enough, that in the curious little volume entitled Le Mausolée de la Toisson d'Or, 8vo, Amsterdam, 1689, professing to contain the epitaphs, devices, war-cries, &c. of all the Knights of the Order, Anthony is dismissed with the bare mention of his death in 1504, aged 83, and of his burial at Tourneham.

plausible conjecture appears to be that they are the initials of the words 'Imperator Navalis Exercitûs,' which would be a literal translation into Latin of 'General de l'Armée Navale,' or Commander of the Naval Forces, a rank to which he was appointed in the year 1464, when he sailed with an expedition against the Turks; Simon de la Laine, Seigneur de Montigny, being 'Lieutenant General de Monsieur le Bastard en cette armée.'[e] Should the word 'Imperator' be objected to, I have only to observe that the Latin of the middle ages was not of the most classical description; and that, in this case, it might have been selected to distinguish this particular command from the office of 'Admiral of the Sea,' which was enjoyed by several of the Burgundian Ducal family, each of whom in his turn is designated, classically enough, Prefectus Maris.[f] The portrait, which is painted in oil upon wood, and after the style of Jan van

[e] Paradin. Olivier de la Marche. Monstrelet.

[f] Olivarius Vredius.

Eyck, the celebrated Flemish painter, (who, as you well know, was the protegé of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, father of this identical Anthony,) represents a man of an age between forty and fifty. At the time Anthony sailed on the expedition before mentioned, he was in the 44th year of his age; and, although no proof, it is a curious circumstance that Monstrelet, under the date of 1467, in the very chapter which he commences with an account of the departure of the Bastard for England, to keep his engagement with Lord Scales, remarks, that about this period a great change took place in the habits of the men as well as of the women; the former beginning to wear their hair so long that it came into their eyes, and covering their heads with cloth caps a quarter of an ell or more in height; describing, in brief, the very costume in which Anthony is represented. In the absence, therefore, of any better founded hypothesis, it may be allowable to presume that the picture now in Hamilton Place was painted between his return from Africa in 1465, and his departure for England in 1467; perhaps immediately previous to the latter, as an affectionate souvenir for the father or the wife of one who was leaving them on a perilous voyage,[g] and on whom it was but too probable they might never look in life again.

"Thus much as to the picture itself. With regard to the person it represents, his name occurs so frequently in the Chronicles of the 15th century, and always with such honourable mention, that we can easily believe it was no idle compliment to address him as 'the most renowned knight, and the most readiest and determined in accomplishing such noble works that by counsel or inquiry was known in any region.'[h] It is, therefore, rather extraordinary, that with the exceptions of a brief article in the Biographie Universelle, an incidental notice by Bayle in a note to the article Bersala, and the few lines appended to his portrait in Montfaucon, we have nothing in the shape of a memoir or detailed account of his life and actions. Connected as he is with the chivalric history of our own country, a few hints for such a memoir may not be unacceptable to English Antiquaries; and the following facts have therefore been extracted and chronologically arranged by me from the various historians and genealogists of France, Burgundy, and Flanders.

"Anthony, surnamed the Great, Bastard of Burgundy, was the son of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, by Jeanne de Prelle, daughter of Raoul, Seigneur de Lize, and Marie de Tieffry, his wife.[i] All the genealogists concur in stating him to have been born in 1421; but none of the historians that I have met with mention the date

[g] "Pour ce que nouvelles couroient (et vraye est) qu'aucuns pirates et escumeures de mer guettoient sur luy pour le ruer jus." (Monstrelet, Chronicques; see also Jacques du Clercq, Harl. MS. 4476.)

[h] Lansdowne MS. No. 285.

[i] Anselme, Histoire Genealogique de la Maison Royale de France. St. Marthe, Genealogie de la Maison Royale. Heuterus in Geneal. Nothorum Philippi Boni.

of his birth, except Jean Baptiste Maurice,[k] who says in 1412, without, however, quoting any authority for the assertion. He is first mentioned by Olivier de la Marche, under the date of 1443; and, secondly, as accompanying his father to Luxembourg in 1450. In 1452 we find him commanding the vanguard of the army sent to raise the siege of Oudenarde, beneath the walls of which town, and previous to the battle, he is said to have received knighthood from the sword of Jean de Bourgoyne, Count d'Estampes,[l] being at this period (if the date of his birth in 1421 is correct) in the 31st year of his age. It appears strange that this ceremony should have been so long delayed, especially as it has been asserted that he distinguished himself early in the wars of his father.[m] On the 14th of June in the same year, his half-brother Cornelius, the eldest illegitimate son of the Duke, was killed at the Battle of Rupelmonde, and Anthony succeeded to the lordships of Bever and Beveresse; and was, thenceforth, says Olivier de la Marche, no longer called Messire Anthoine, but Bastard of Burgundy, as Cornelius had been before him. The same year he led an expedition from Treremonde against Gand; but on arriving before the city, the rebels appeared in such force, that a panic spread through his troops, and they fell into complete disorder. Finding all his efforts to rally them vain, with only twenty lances, and the archers of his body guard, he covered the retreat to Treremonde, keeping the whole army of the insurgents at bay.[n] On the 22d of July, 1453, he was present at the decisive battle of Gaure;[o] and at the grand banquet given at Lille, on the marriage of the Duke of Cleves with Isabella of Burgundy, daughter of the Count d'Estampes, in Feb. 1454, Anthony was one of the many noble personages who made with Duke Philip a vow to God, the ladies, and the pheasant, to perform some deed of arms against the Turks who had recently taken Constantinople.[p] On the 12th of May 1456, Anthony was invested with the order of the Golden Fleece in the Great Church at the Hague.[q] In 1459, according to St. Marthe, he married Jeanne de la Vieuville, only daughter and heiress of Pierre de la Vieuville, Viscount d'Aire, and Lord of Tourneham, Nedon, and Baisel in Artois, and of his wife Isabeau de Preurre.[r] On the 3d of February, 1462, he engaged with

[k] Le Blazon des Armoiries de tous les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Thoison d'Or. Fol. La Haye, 1688.

[l] Olivier de la Marche. [m] Biographie Universelle. [n] Olivier de la Marche. [o] Ibid.

[p] Ibid. Paradin. [q] J. J. Chifflet, Insig. Gent. Eq. Ord. Vell. Aur.

[r] The order for the marriage to be performed at Brussels on the 26th day of June, and given by Duke Philip at Arras on the 12th of May, is printed by Olivarius Vredius, but without the date of the year: and Olivier de la Marche, in his account of the banquet at Lille in 1454, mentions, amongst the company present, Madame de Beveres, wife of Monsieur le Batard de Bourgoyne. As Cornelius was never married, this could not have been his widow; and therefore if Olivier de la Marche is not in error, Anthony must have been married at least as early as June 1453. It is not quite clear, however, that Anthony was not *twice* married; for Louis Gollert, in his Memoires, says, 'Antoine Sieur de Beure qui fut marié avec D. Marie fille du Sieur de Couëhen,' and as this appears to be altogether a distinct person from Jehanne de la Vieuville, such may have been the case.

Philip de Crevecœur and Peter de Vaps to fight in the lists as champions of an oppressed lady, which feat they performed at Brussels in November the same year. In 1464, Anthony was appointed commander of the naval forces sent by Duke Philip against the Turks, and on Whit-Monday, May 21st, he embarked with his brother Baldwin and two thousand men at arms at the port of Ecluse (or Sluys), in presence of his father, who gave him 100,000 crowns to defray his expenses, and invested him, at the same time, with the county of La Roche en Ardenne, and several other lordships. On his arrival in the Mediterranean he succeeded in forcing the Turks to raise the siege of Ceuta; but his troops were attacked by pestilence, and the death of Pope Pius disconcerting the plans of the crusaders, Anthony and Baldwin sailed with the remnant of their forces for Marseilles, where they landed, and leaving their ships returned by land to Flanders, where they arrived towards the end of February 1465. On the last day of April in that year he received, by the hands of Chester Herald, a letter from Anthony Wideville, Lord Scales and Nucelles, brother of Elizabeth, Queen of our Edward the Fourth, inviting him to come over to England, in the month of October following, or within a year from that date, and perform certain feats of arms on foot and on horseback, in consequence of a request previously made by the Bastard to Lord Scales to that effect, and which the latter had been for some time unable to attend to on account of the disturbed state of the kingdom. The invitation of Lord Scales was joyfully accepted by the Bastard on the 1st of May, at Brussels, in presence of Duke Philip, the Count de Charalois, and the whole court; but the breaking out of the war of the Public Weal, as it was called, and the subsequent rebellion of the Liegeois, prevented Anthony from visiting England at the first period named by Lord Scales, and we find him signalising his prowess at the battles of Montlherry and Montenacques, and at the terrible siege and sacking of Dinant, the keys of which unfortunate city were delivered to him upon its surrender.[s] On the 29th of October, 1466, a safe conduct was granted for the term of eight months following All Souls' Day, November 2nd, to the Lord Bastard of Burgundy, permitting him to bring a thousand persons, with shipping and baggage, all which the King of England would take under his protection.[t] And accordingly, in May, 1467, Anthony and his suite, to the amount of four hundred persons, embarked at Sluys on board four vessels called Caravals, richly appointed with banners, pennons, streamers, and furnished with all the pomp, paraphernalia, and munitions of war: for the Channel was at that time infested by pirates, professedly Spaniards, but really Frenchmen, who it was known were on the watch to intercept, and, if possible, capture him.[u] The attempt was made, but the pirates were beaten off with the loss of two of their vessels by the gallant Burgundians, who arrived safely off Gravesend on the 29th of May, about four in the afternoon. The highly interesting account of his

[s] Paradin. Monstrelet. [t] Rymer's Fœdera, xi. 573.

[u] Monstrelet (as already quoted in p. 428, note g). Jacques du Clercq.

reception there and in London, and of the magnificent joust in Smithfield, has been published verbatim from the cotemporary MSS. in the Lansdowne, Harleian, and Arundel Collections, in the volume entitled Excerpta Historica[x], and the errors into which nearly all the English historians have fallen on those points very clearly explained and judiciously commented upon. I shall, therefore, simply state here that the combat took place in Smithfield on Thursday, the 11th of June 1467, being the feast of St. Barnabas, and the following day; at the termination of which the champions were entertained with much magnificence in Mercers' Hall by the King and Queen, and the Lord Bastard of Burgundy in return invited the Queen and all the ladies to dine with him on the following Sunday. In the midst of the preparations for this feast, however, the news arrived of the death of Duke Philip the Good, who had expired on the 15th of June; and Anthony, in great sorrow, took leave of the King and Queen of England, and returned with all his suite immediately to Bruges.[y] The next year, 1468, on Sunday, July 9th, at five o'clock in the morning, Margaret, sister of Edward the Fourth, was married to the new Duke of Burgundy, Charles, surnamed the Bold, at the little town of Dame, between Sluys and Bruges, and the same day she made a magnificent entry into the latter place, where she dined. On this occasion Anthony held the magnificent tournament celebrated in the annals of Burgundian chivalry as the Pass of the Tree of Gold, during which he received a severe hurt on the leg from the kick of a horse as he was accompanying his old antagonist Lord Scales into the lists.[z] We next hear of him at the battle of Grandson, in 1476, where he commanded the vanguard. He was also present at the battle of Morat, and at the fatal siege of Nancy, in 1477, where he was taken prisoner, and his brother, Charles the Bold, perished.[a] Louis the Eleventh of France used every endeavour to induce René, Duke of Lorraine, to make over to him his illustrious captive; whilst Anthony, on the other hand, offered to pay any ransom rather than be placed in the power of the most implacable enemy of his house. René yielded at last to the desire of the French King, and himself conducted Anthony to Louis.[b] To the astonishment, however, of all Europe, the politic monarch had no sooner obtained possession of his gallant foe than he loaded him with wealth and honours instead of chains and indignities. On the 20th of August, 1478, Louis presented him with the counties and lordships of Grandpré, Saint Menehould, Vassy, Passavant, Chateau Thierry, and Chastillon sur Marne,[c] and contrived, by unceasing kindness, to attach him devotedly to his service. On the death of Louis, Anthony transferred his services to Charles the Eighth, who made him a knight of the order of St. Michael, and granted him letters of legitimation in 1485.[d] In February, 1487-8, when Charles was holding a lit de justice, Antoine (accidentally, it would appear,) seated himself on the bench

[x] 8vo. London, Bentley, 1833. [y] Olivier de la Marche. [z] Paston Letters, vol. ii.
[a] Philippe de Commines. [b] Biographie Universelle. [c] Anselme.
[d] St. Marthe. Anselme.

appropriated to the Princes of the French Blood Royal, beside Louis d'Armagnac, Count de Guise, and Louis de Luxembourg, both kinsmen of the King. An order was given to remove him to a lower seat: but Charles, considering his great age and his high reputation, paid him the extraordinary compliment of desiring him to remain.[e] The last public service we find him employed in is in 1491, when he was one of the noblemen appointed to conduct Margaret of Burgundy ("the widow ere she was the wife" of Charles the Eighth) back to Flanders. He lived to see another king of France, Louis the Twelfth, ascend the throne; and dying in 1504, at the advanced age of eighty-three, was buried at Tourneham in Artois. So at least say Anselme, St. Marthe, and others, who have apparently followed them; but they quote no authority, either for the year of his birth or for that of his death, and therefore we are at liberty to question the exactness of the calculation. According to a MS. in the King's Library, British Museum, containing the arms of all the knights of the Golden Fleece, at the sixteenth chapter of the order, held at Brussells, January 17, 1500-1, ten knights were recorded as "trepassez," and amongst them is the name of M. Anthoine, Bastard de Bourgoigne. If this be not an error, it reduces his age to seventy-nine, or the date of his birth must be incorrectly given by St. Marthe, and we must believe Jean Baptiste Maurice, who places it in 1412, which would justify the assertion of his death in the eighty-third year of his age; but, at the same time, would make him forty before he was knighted, and fifty-five when he encountered Lord Scales, which does not appear probable. Maurice also differs from the other historians and genealogists in making Anthony the son of Marie de Tieffry instead of Jeanne de Prelle her daughter; and this appears so evident a mistake, that we may reasonably doubt him upon other points advanced without cotemporary authority. Considerable variations appear also in the blazoning of his arms. In Olivarius Vredius is an engraving of his seal, on which they are disposed bendwise on a plain shield, (in other respects the same as those of his father Philip the Good,[f]) and without the baton sinister: but supported by a lion and a griffin, with a crest of a lion's head crowned between two wings. The legend

S. ANTHONIE BASTART DE BVRGUNDIE SEIG'UR DE BEURS ? DE CHOQUES.

Chifflet blazons them as those of his father, "le Bon duc Philip, brisé d'un filet gauche d'argent;" crest an owl Or, which he calls by a name by which the French designate one variety of that species, "Oiseau Duc;" asserting in another part of his work that such was the crest of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy. Louis Gollut omits Brabant and quarters Flanders in lieu of placing it in an inescutcheon surtout; crest, a chouette, or screech-owl Or. The MS. in the King's Library, British Museum, exhibits the arms

[e] Jaligny, Histoire de Charles VIII. Godefroy, Ceremonies Françaises.

[f] 1st and 4th, Burgundy modern; 2nd, Burgundy ancient impaling Brabant; 3rd, Burgundy ancient impaling Luxembourg; over all an inescutcheon of Flanders.

without the filet gauche or baton sinister: but this must have arisen from the negligence of the painter; crest an owl proper; the arms surrounded by the collar of the order. Piérre Palliot, in his "Vraie et parfaite Science des Armoiries," blazons them the same as Chifflet; but with a baton *gules* instead of *argent*. Menestrier says, that after the Pass of the Tree of Gold, he bore that device for a crest;[r] but it does not appear in any engraving or painting of his arms. Palliot, quoting Scohier, says, that the illegitimate sons of John Duke of Burgundy, father of Philip the Good, had for their crest a tree of gold, but tells us that in the choir of the Sainct Chappelle du Roi, at Dijon, the arms of Anthony are surmounted by an owl *proper*, beaked and membered or.

"In a note to the account of the tournament in Smithfield, published in the Excerpta Historica, the writer remarks, that "the full title of the Bastard is thus given among witnesses to a charter in Oliv. Vredii Sigilla et Inscript. Com. Flandriæ," and he transcribes it thus:—"Heere Anthuenis Bastaert van Bourgoingnen; Grave van Biche in Ardenne; de Grave van Nassau, eerste Camerlinck; de Heeren van Beveren, van Walhain, van Polhain, ende van Wolkestain.' I need scarcely point out to you that of all these titles the only one pertaining to the Bastard is that of Grave or Count van *Biche* (evidently a misprint for *Roche*) in Ardenne, the rest being those of the other witnesses, the Count of Nassau, *First or High Chamberlain*, the *Lords* of Beveren, Walhain, Polhain, and Wolkestain, to which is added the Lord Peter Lanckhals, Hofmeister, or steward of the household, &c. &c. Anthony's usual style was "Bastard of Burgundy, Lord of Bever and Beveresse, and Count de la Roche in Ardenne;" but his full title would run thus:—Anthony Bastard of Burgundy, Count de la Roche in Ardenne, Count de Grandpré, St. Menehould, Chateau Thierry, and Chastillon sur Marne, Lord of Bever and Beveresse, of Chocques and Tourneham in Artois, Vassy and Passavant, knight of the order of St. Michael and of the Golden Fleece. By his wife Jeanne de Vieuville, he had Philip, who succeeded him as Lord of Bever, and married Anne de Borselle, heiress of Vere and Flessingue; Joanna, who married Gaspar de Culembourg, Lord of Hooghstraaten; and other children, who died either unmarried or without issue. He left also one illegitimate son, named after himself Anthony, who was Lord of Capelle, and married Clara, daughter and heiress of Andrew, Lord of Wacken. Such, my dear Sir, are the principal facts I have been able to collect respecting this celebrated individual, whose name is connected with almost every chivalric enterprise in Europe for at least half of the fifteenth century; who was courted and honoured by the most distinguished monarchs and nobles of his time; and yet (so capricious is history), for the scanty notice of whom, now laid before the Society, it has been a work of some labour to collect the materials.

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly, J. R. Planché."

[r] Origine des Armoiries et du Blazon, p. 96.

Roman Antiquities found at Hemel Hempsted.

16th Nov. 1837. The Rev. J. F. Girton, Minister of the Independent Chapel at Box Lane, Hemel Hempsted, in the county of Hertford, in a letter to Thomas Coates, Esq. dated from that place Sept. 8, 1837, gave the following particulars of the finding of some Roman Antiquities.

It appears that a portion of the Burial-ground attached to Box Lane Chapel, till the 26th August 1837, had not been brought into use for the purposes of interment since it had belonged to the present place of worship. On the following day, as the grave-digger was preparing a grave in this part, at the distance of from three to four feet below the surface, his pick or spade struck against something hollow; and finding that there was more than earth in his way, he proceeded carefully in his work; when he shortly discovered,

1. A Roman Vase of a globular form, of green glass, about fourteen inches in height, and near three feet in circumference, containing human bones, small particles of gold fringe, &c. With the exception of a small piece struck out by the pick or spade, the vessel is entire: the piece has been preserved.

2. A small Roman Pitcher, or jug, of earthen ware. It has a short narrow neck; and was broken in the taking up. It was empty.

3. A Metal Stand, supposed to have been used for a lamp.

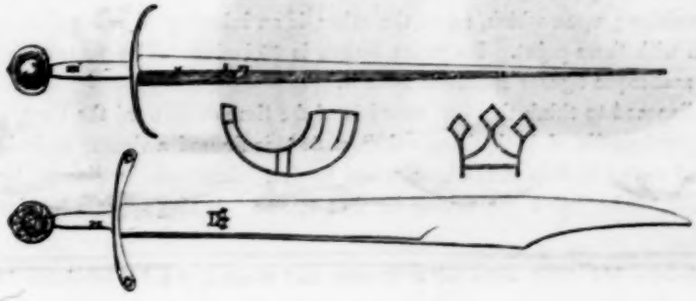
4. Various ill-shaped Nails, much incrusted. They were found lying around the articles already described.

On the 12th September, Mr. Girton directed a further search to be made, as near as possible to the spot where the discovery of the 26th August had occurred, without disturbing the recently interred corpse; when, after digging for several hours, a small portion of black ashes incorporated with chalk was thrown up, and soon after some spike-nails much incrusted. Much care was then taken by the excavators, and after a few more nails had been turned up, there was presented to view, with the mouth uppermost, a large square glass vase, with a handle slightly ornamented, the whole of a bluish green colour, filled with human bones. It was taken out with great care. This discovery was made at four feet distance from the former, and four feet and a half below the surface of the ground. A further search was subsequently made, but nothing more discovered.

Mr. Girton accompanied this communication with a neat pencil drawing of the three vessels as well as of the metal stand, and forms of some of the nails: together with a pencil outline of the form of the metal stand of its full size.

Ancient Swords found near Norwich.

16th Nov. 1837. Samuel Woodward, Esq. communicated the following account of two ancient Swords found in the vicinity of Norwich, in a letter addressed to Sir Henry Ellis:



"Dear Sir, Norwich, April 14, 1837.

"As so few original figures of the offensive weapons of our ancestors exist, and references being of necessity made for them to MSS. and Seals, permit me to submit to you, for the purpose of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, reduced sketches of two antique Swords found in the vicinity of Norwich.

"The first is a two-edged sword, 36¼ inches in its entire length, weighing 2 lbs. 5 oz. having a very large pommel. It was found in the meadows at Lakenham mill, one mile south of our city. It is in an excellent state of conservation, excepting that its edges are serrated, rather, I should say, from action than decomposition. The guard is somewhat decomposed, and is tinged with the blue phosphate of iron, arising from the decomposition of animal matter, which was corroborated by the fact that remains of a human skeleton was found lying near it. From the limited means of reference I possess, I have assigned it to the time of Richard the Second;[a] and if I am correct in thus assigning it, it most probably belonged to one of the Knights who assisted in defending the city against Lilster, the dyer, in 1381,[b] who laid siege to Norwich, and was subsequently put down by the valorous conduct of its Bishop, Henry le Despencer.

"The bugle and small cross on the blade are inlayings in red gold; the former may probably throw some light on the subject of its original possessor; the bugle also occurs on the opposite side of the blade. There is a forge mark on the grip which resembles a mill-rind.

"It appears to me, from the weight of the lower part of this weapon, that it is of the same kind as one figured in Strutt's Horda; the large pommel being intended to give additional impetus to it, when brought obliquely down from guard to point. There are figures of similar weapons in the same work, under the head of Sword-play.

"The other sword or scymitar was exhibited to the Society in 1833; but I thought I could not do better than by exhibiting them in juxta-position. It was found in dredging our river at Thorpe, preparatory to its being made navigable for sea-borne vessels. It weighs only two pounds, in consequence of its blade being in such an advanced state of decomposition; upon which, as on the other, is an inlaying of red gold in the form of a crown with three point. Its entire length is 39 inches. The pommel is of brass, with rude arabesque figures engraved upon it.

"I am disposed to think this last sword is of the time of Edward the First, as in Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 814, is figured a similar faulchion, which is presented to the Bishop of Durham, when he first enters into the diocese, by the lord of Sockburn,[c] who holds the manor by that tenure. It also appears from Strutt and

[a] Vide Harleian MS. 1319, and a seal of Thomas Earl Marshal, dated Westminster 19 October, 13 Ric. II.

[b] Vide Blomefield's Norwich, 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 105.

[c] Vide Camden in loco.

Meyrick that scymitars were introduced as regular military weapons in the reigns of the first and second Edwards. There is no clue, however, in our local histories whereby we might assign a period to its being lost in our river; unless it was in the year 1277, when King Edward, according to Stowe, made a military progress through Suffolk and Norfolk, and kept his Easter at Norwich.

"I am, dear Sir, yours most respectfully,

"SAMUEL WOODWARD."

La Chapelle de Notre Dame des Pas.

1st March 1838. Sir TOMKINS HILGROVE TURNER, K.C., G.C.H. presented to the Society the drawing of a destroyed Chapel in the Island of Jersey, accompanied by the following observations:

"On the east side of Fort Regent, about midway on the long and broad glacis, stood the ancient Chapelle de Notre Dame des Pas.

Its flat buttresses, its lancet windows with semicircular heads, of which there were two on the south side and one to the north, its arched roof of rubble, and general construction, prove it an edifice probably of the twelfth century. The Board of Ordnance having deemed it advisable to remove it in the year 1814, Sir William Gosset, then Chief Engineer, and Sir Hilgrove Turner, Commander of the Forces, carried the orders of the Board into effect for its destruction, by ten mines simultaneously fired, and the Chapel was no more. In removing the rubbish, in a stone grave cut in the rock, on which was the foundation of the Chapel, was a skeleton of old date; beside it, in the grave, was a long piece of iron, too decayed to ascertain its use. The *steps* that gave the name attached to the building could not be found; but a small harbour, on which the Chapel looked down, still bears the name of Le Havre des Pas."

PRESENTS TO THE SOCIETY,

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH VOLUME OF

ARCHAEOLOGIA.

1836.

Coins of the Romans, relating to Britain. 8vo. London, 1836.	By J. Y. Akerman, Esq.
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ERRATA.

Page 285, *Bolon* is probably the little town now called Le Boulou, situated between Perpignan and the great road that leads into Spain across the Pyrenees. It is not far from Collioure.

376, *add the following note.* In the Plate, the drawings of the *obverse* and *reverse* are taken not from the matrix, but from wax impressions.

Read 3rd May, 1838.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1837.

We the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 29th day of March 1838, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1837, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				393	1	2
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1837.						
By annual Subscriptions	853	13	0			
By Admissions of Members elected . . .	235	4	0			
By dividend on stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1837	195	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	75	10	4			
By Stamp-duty on Bonds	28	10	0			
				1387	17	4
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions . .				336	0	0
				£2116	18	6

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 6,500*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1837.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	725	14	8			
For Taxes	35	17	0			
For Salaries	447	10	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses	112	9	7			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	21	13	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash	63	8	6			
For Collecting Subscriptions	42	5	0			
For Stamps for Bonds and Receipts	33	13	6			
				1505	2	3
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1838				611	16	3
				£2116	18	6

Witness our hands this 6th day of April 1838.

(Signed) GORE OUSELEY.
F. CHANTREY.
T. J. PETTIGREW.

JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON,
25, PARLIAMENT-STREET.